THE COMMUNIST

ol. XI MARCH, 1932 No. 3

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Japanese Imperialism in All Its Insolent Nakedness

On July 25, 1927, the Japanese Prime Minister, M. Tanaka, handed to the Japanese Emperor a secret Memorandum. This Memorandum throws a great deal of light on the present war situation in China, and the role of Japanese imperialism as the spear-head of world imperialism in the war acts against Soviet China, in the war preparations against the Soviet Union. The Memorandum is printed in full in the December 30, 1931 issue of THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. *Because of its tremendous importance, we are reprinting the introduction of* THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL *to the Memorandum.*—EDITORS.

ALL the workers of the world who stand in defense of the Soviet Union should know this document. The workers and peasants of the colonies and semi-colonies should know of it. In particular the workers and peasants of China, Mongolia, Manchuria and Korea should be acquainted with it.

We are seldom given the opportunity of examining the most secret, intimate documents of imperialists heading the government of a "great power"—documents in which the government throws off its mask and with suave candor lays all the rapacious program and methods of action of its government before the head of the State.

The document is interesting because it gives us the key to an understanding of all that is going on at present on the Manchurian plains and gives *authoritative confirmation of how near is the intervention against the Soviet Union.* It is interesting in that it shows up the *unbounded, militarist plans* of rapacious Japanese imperialism which is threatening us with a new world imperialist war. The document is interesting because it gives a shamefully bare-faced description of all the methods of bloody violence, robbery, oppression, lies, deceit, and cunning used by imperialism to gain its own ends. It is interesting, again, because it shows how the imperialists are prepared now to rob even those whom they had, in the beginning, deceived into being the catspaw for carrying out their offensive, those whom they look upon as the "vanguard" of this offensive (in the present case—the Koreans). Finally, the document is interesting in that it wholeheartedly declares that all this policy (which it describes itself as a policy of violence, robbery and deceit) has as its aim the "consolidation of our national defence in the interests of peace and order in the Far East"!!

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In what way does Japanese imperialism, in accordance with this memorandum, intend to act "in the interests of peace and order in the Far East"?

As regards the U. S. S. R., Japan's "peace policy" is the following:

> "If the Chinese-Eastern Railway belonging to Soviet Russia develops in this district, then our new continental policy will receive a blow which will inevitably bring about conflict with Soviet Russia in the near future. *In this case we shall again be obliged to play the role we played in the Russo-Japanese war. The Chinese-Eastern Railway* will become ours just as the Southern-Manchurian railway became ours, and we shall seize Girin as we seized Darien. It seems that the inevitability of crossing swords with Russia on the fields of Mongolia in order to gain possession of the wealth of North Manchuria is part of our program of national development. If we look into the future we must admit the *inevitability of war with Russia on the fields of North Manchuria.*" Having constructed this line, we can convert Dalai into a base for the offensive against Siberia along three roads: through Tuunan, Anchan and Tsitsikar. The riches of North Manchuria will fall into our hands. Manchuria and Mongolia, Eastern countries which are still absolutely undeveloped. Sooner or later we shall have to fight here against Soviet Russia. The fight will take place in Girin."

In these statements it is interesting to note that Japanese imperialism compares the coming war against the revolutionary Soviet Republics, which day by day grow stronger and stronger, with the last war against the Tsarist monarchy which was entirely rotten to the core. The Japanese imperialists have already tried the feebleness of the weapons of the Tsarist army, which shed its blood in Manchuria, on foreign territory, for the sake of the rapacious aims of Tsarism; but they have not yet experienced the force of arms of the Red Army which, standing by the policy of the Soviet Government, will not fight for purposes of conquest but which, should Japanese hordes invade the territory of the Soviet Union, will stoutly defend the land, without yielding an inch of the ground. The fact that the Japanese do not understand the fundamental difference between the Tsarist Army and the Red Army will, of course, only increase their determination to make intervention.

As regards the United States of America, Japanese imperialism describes its "policy of peace" in the memorandum as follows:

> "*In the interests of self-defence and the defence of others* (!) Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia, without pursuing a policy of 'blood and iron.' But in pursuing this policy we shall be brought up face to face with the United States, who are directed towards us by the Chinese policy of fighting against poison with the help of poison. If we wish, in future, to gain

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> control over China, we *must crush the United States*, i.e., *behave towards the States as we did during the Russo-Japanese war.* In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia."

Here, again, Japanese imperialism, under the hypnosis of Japan's old victory over the Tsarist Army, compares the future war against the United States with the old Russo-Japanese war. And this illusion only increases the reality of the future war between Japan and the United States.

Therefore the strategic plan of Japanese imperialism amounts to this: First, seize Manchuria and Mongolia and make intervention against the Soviet Union. Then enter into war against the United States. But Japanese imperialism does not stop here. It dreams and forecasts no more and no less than the conquest of the whole world by Japan:

> "With all the resources of China at our disposal, we shall pass forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe."

All this will be done, apparently, "in the interests of self-defense and the defense of others" and "in the interests of peace and order in the Far East."

While waiting to see how Japanese imperialism will in the future conquer the whole of Asia and "even Europe," we might for the time being note the fact as to how Japanese imperialism in 1927 intended to act in 1931 (and how it has begun to act already) in China, Manchuria, Mongolia and Korea. In this respect the memorandum is particularly interesting. If as regards future prospects the author of the memorandum can be called a day-dreaming, imperialist Don Quixote, when the question concerns near perspectives connected with the seizure of Manchuria and Mongolia and the war against the U.S.S.R., he gives a well thought out, concrete, military and strategical, economic and diplomatic plan of attack, which Japan has already begun to put into practice.

As regards China, Japanese imperialism shows the same complete absence of any understanding of, and even completely ignores, the forces of revolution, as was the case in the attitude towards the U.S.S.R. The memorandum was drawn up in 1927, i. e., when the wave of revolution had already swept the South of China. Nevertheless the memorandum refers to the awakening of China only as a *future* danger. But we are not at the moment interested in the blind conceit of the imperialist, but in the question as to how these imperialist "civilizers" behave towards the awakening peoples. The memorandum runs thus:—

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> "*a more dangerous factor is the fact that the Chinese people may wake up one fine day.* . . . When we remember that the Chinese are our only purchasers, *we must fear that day when China unites and her industry begins to flourish.* . . . We must from now onwards pursue our own military ends and seize the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia by divers ways, in order to be able on the one hand to *destroy, the military, political and economic development of China* (see what 'civilizers' they are.—Ed.) and, on the other hand, to prevent the permeation of Russian influence. This is the key to our continental policy."

It is well known that Japanese imperialism is carrying out its present military invasion of Manchuria under the flag of "defending the independence" of Manchuria and Mongolia . . . from China. And this is how M. Tanaka in his intimate, secret document intended exclusively for the Japanese Emperor, explained how Japanese imperialism intends defending their "independence."

> "Manchuria and Mongolia are the 'Belgiums' of the Far East. During the Great War Belgium was made the battlefield. In *our wars with Russia and the United States, we must insist upon Manchuria and Mongolia bearing all the horrors of war.* As it is clear that we shall have to violate the neutrality of these territories, we must at all costs construct the Girin-Hoiren and the Chan-Chun-Dalai railways. . . ."

The memorandum, however, is not limited to the statement that Japanese imperialism will be compelled to violate the neutrality of Mongolia and Manchuria and compel them to "experience all the horrors of war." It describes with shameless sincerity how Japanese imperialism having gained control of Mongolia, will rob her toiling masses:—

> "When there will be enough of our people in Inner and Outer Mongolia, *we shall buy up the land, paying for it one-tenth part of its true value*, and begin to grow rice there in order to increase our stock of foodstuffs. . . . *When we have a large section of the land in our hands, there will no longer be any question as ot whether Mongolia belongs to the Japanese or to the Mongolians.* Backed up by our military forces, we can realize our *positive* (!) policy. In order to achieve this plan, one million yens must be assigned from the 'secret fund of the war ministry' and 400 retired officers must be sent to Inner and Outer Mongolia. *These officers, dressed as Chinese citizens and acting as teachers, must live among the population and gain the confidence of the Mongolian princes and so on.*"

Japanese imperialism not only intended, and is intending, to rob the Mongolians by deceiving them. Japanese imperialism uses the same tactics of deceit and consequent robbery towards the Koreans, whom it wishes to use as its catspaw for military purposes in China:

> "As a result of the freedom which they (the Koreans) enjoy in Manchuria, thanks to the imperfect *police system* (apparently per-

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> fection is not compatible with freedom according to the imperialists —Ed.) and also owing to the wealth of the land, no fewer than one million Koreans are to be found in the three Eastern provinces. . . . They cannot be compared with the naturalized Japanese in California, and South America. They have merely become Chinese temporarily. When their number reaches two-and-a-half millions and more, *it will be possible to incite them, in case of necessity, to military action and we shall support them, assuring them that we are suppressing the Korean movement.*"

This is similar to what the English are doing in India, Persia and Afghanistan, etc., to what France is doing in her colonies, and the U.S.A. in Latin America! The memorandum further describes how Japanese imperialism, having used the Koreans for their own rapacious purposes, will then betray and rob them:—

> "If the Koreans come to this district (Southern Manchuria), we must offer them financial support through our trust societies and other financial organizations. *These organizations must have property rights, and the Koreans will be limited to the right to work upon the land. Formally, however, the Koreans must have property rights.* . . . Thus we shall, unnoticed, gain the control of the best rice plantations which our immigrants, i.e., the Japanese, must receive. *They will have to displace the Koreans who, in their turn, will seek new lands which, in the future, will also come into the hands of our people.*"

It would be a good thing for the toiling Koreans, whom Japanese imperialism is using as a fertilizer for its coming harvest, to give consideration to these words.

In general, in reading the Tanaka memorandum, it becomes absolutely clear that systematic deceit is as much an essential composite part of the policy of imperialism, as systematic violence and robbery. As regards Mongolia, the memorandum writes as follows:

> "Thanks to their cheap high quality wool which they have in enormous quantities, Mongolia is a potential source of enormous wealth. . . . *We are hiding this fact from the rest of the world so that England and America may not begin to compete with us.*"

The document proposes that facilities be given to other Powers to invest capital in Manchuria and Mongolia, and comments on this points as follows:

> "*We shall thus allay international suspicions and cleanse the road for broader plans*, and force the Powers to recognize our own special position in this land."

In defense of the need for creating a special department for colonial affairs, in particular in connection with the "absorption" of Korea," the memorandum states:—

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> "In view of this (in view of the lack of a special organ of control) constant differences of opinion are observed and *it has been quite impossible to put through a secret policy.* This has made it possible for international obstruction and Korean opposition."

But how did Japanese imperialism correct this mistake? In the usual way, by means of deceit:—

> "*Masses of propagandists arrived in Europe, America and Korea and declared that we recognize the independence of Korea and have no claim upon her territory.* As a result we have been able to retrieve international confidence once more."

In this piece of deceit, just as in the cause of expansion and annexation, the Japanese imperialist Tanaka offers unbounded prospects.

> "In inviting other Powers to take part in the development of the South Manchurian Railway, we *can deceive the whole world* (!!). Having done this we can move forward into Manchuria and Mongolia etc."

This gives one an idea of the imperialist "civilizers," when they bare and unmask themselves before their chief, behind the scenes.

The Tanaka memorandum is of enormous interest and should be given wide circulation among the proletarians and peasants of the whole world; not only because it is of actual significance now, being an undisputed confirmation of the fact that Japanese imperialism is making direct preparations for intervention against the U.S.S.R. and against the Chinese revolution, but because it throws a strong light upon the basis of imperialist policy as a whole. The Tanaka memorandum is a true text-book of imperialism. The rapacious ends served and the cunning means used, according to the Tanaka memorandum by Japanese imperialism, are common to the imperialism of all the "Great Powers." When we are given the opportunity of reading the secret memorandums of any Prime Minister to his King, or to the President of the Republic, we may be sure that they will be as alike as two peas to the Tanaka memorandum. The proletariat of every capitalist country should therefore learn the nature of *their* own national imperialism from the example of the Tanaka memorandum until such time as they, having achieved their own October, they will be able to read the memoranda of their own late Ministers in their own Soviet State archives. But this memorandum must be read by the proletariat of all countries not only for the purpose of studying the nature of imperialism. It should rouse them up to hasten on the moment when the whole system of violence, robbery and deceit which is called imperialism, shall be swept away.

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The Fourth Year of the Five-Year Plan

By N. OSSINSKY

"THE third, decisive year," of the Five-Year Plan has come to an end. The fourth, the crowning year, is beginning. For, according to Bolshevist dialectical arithmetic, the Five-Year Plan must be, and will be, accomplished in four years. Hitherto, this was the general slogan. Now it becomes the concrete immediate task of the beginning year; it forms part of the operative industrial and financial plans of 1932. It will be supported by the plans from below; it will become the axle of Socialist competition and shock brigade work.

In fact, this means that we are completing the transition—in time, and not in space—into a new country, a country different from that in which we were born and grew up, into a country where the foundation of Socialism is firmly established, and where on its basis, there will rapidly come into being a more and more developed system of Socialist economy and social life.

To go on with the journey simile, one must say that it is no less distant and complicated than any "great migration of peoples" that happened in the history of mankind; and its historical results are immeasurably greater. For it means that over one hundred peoples who constitute the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—among them nations, who are on the lowest rungs of economic and social developments—under the leadership of the proletariat, and in the midst of ruthless class struggle between the workers and the former oppressors, are approaching Socialism, pointing the way onward to the whole of mankind. Such is the stage, represented by the year 1932, in the history of the whole world.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-two is the year of the completion of a series of magnificent attempts that were developing in the preceding three years, and were given a special impetus in the past year. We do not yet perceive and realize them sufficiently, for the enormous edifice is still surrounded by scaffolding, and its general perspective cannot be taken in directly with the naked eye. Moreover, the changes in the "building area" are exceptionally rapid and varied, so that they cannot be taken in at once. But this is, for instance, what a series of comparisons with the technically advanced bourgeois countries, as well as with pre-war conditions in our own country, show.

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In 1931—despite breaks in the first half-year—we produced twice as much coal as in 1913 (and by 21 per cent more than in 1930). We have outdone France, which occupied fourth place in the world, and have in front of us only the United States, Great Britain and Germany. If one adds up the yield of coal, oil and peat, planned for 1932, it exceeds already the German yield of fuel in the past year.

With regard to oil, in 1931 it exceeds the pre-war yield two and one-half times. Venezuela is beaten by at least 40 per cent, and in America they already talk of the time when we shall be even with the United States.

Although with regard to black metallurgy, the breaks of the first half-year were made good by us later and less adequately than in the coal industry (the delay in setting going Magnitogorsk and Kuznetzk had something to do with this) it remains a fact that in 1931 the Soviet Union outdid Great Britain in regard to pig iron. Magnitaya and Kuznetzk are to be set going in the very beginning of 1932. With regard to black metallurgy, 1932 must be a year of great progress; the Soviet Union must rise from 5 million tons to 9 million. This is guaranteed through the construction and exploitation of 24 new blast furnaces, in addition to the existing 92. Moreover, the new furnaces are so powerful, that their holding capacity is as 74 : 100 compared with the general holding capacity of all the old furnaces. In substance, the forthcoming year will be a year when the Soviet Union's working class will reap the fruits of the enormous efforts made in regard to the reconstruction of our metallurgy in 1930-1931, and at the same time a year of new enormous investments of capital that pave the way to the further development of the heavy industry. Simultaneously, 1932 will be for the Soviet Union a year of struggle for first place regarding metallurgy in Europe, and for the second place in the world.

Despite considerable efforts on the part of Mr. Leslie Urquhart's agents (prior to their exposure) to retard Soviet production of copper, in this domain the Soviet Union has nevertheless considerably exceeded the pre-war level in 1931, and is exceeding it many times over in 1932. It must be pointed out that 1932 will be the year when non-ferrous metallurgy and a considerable electro-metallurgy will be properly developed on Soviet territory; entry into a new phase of metallurgical culture also in this line.

Engineering has enormous successes to its credit in 1931 in regard to the volume of production, as well as in regard to mastering new objects and methods of production. One can say that 1931 was the year when Soviet engineers had already learned how to set going new works and utilize new machinery, when they realized that such a task is not beyond them, when they, so to speak, got rid of

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novice timidity before the task of mastering foreign technique; more than that: they already felt themselves capable of continuing independently technical production culture that was being transformed into Socialist culture. This is probably the most characteristic feature of 1931 in regard to the leaders in the economic and technical domains, and also in regard to the whole mass of workers. Comrade Stalin's urgent appeal to master technique fell on an exceptionally fertile ground, gave a definite form and organized the internally matured progress.

In this connection, one has to point out, by way of illustration, that in regard to the production of agricultural machinery, the Soviet Union firmly occupies second place in the world, and has mastered production of new agricultural equipment, adapted to tractor power, that the electrical industry has firmly occupied third or fourth place in the world and has become a mature, technically up-to-date branch of industry; 41,000 tractors have been constructed in 1931, instead of the 13,100 in 1930, which entitles the Soviet Union to the second place in the world after the U. S. A.

But already one need not be ashamed to speak of the place we hold in regard to the production of motor cars (though their output is still quite inadequate). It is just in regard to the production of motors that we have outdistanced in 1931 Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, etc., and are just behind Italy, having still in front of us (in consecutive order) Germany, France and Great Britain. However, the 1932 program pushes us ahead of Italy and Germany, so that we occupy already third place in Europe, and fifth place in the world (including also in the list U. S. A. and Canada).

But, maybe, even this is not the most characteristic and important point, but rather that in 1931 two blooming plants were constructed for the first time in the Soviet Union, and the construction of six is already planned for 1932; that in 1932 we are undertaking the construction of 19 rolling mills, never produced by us before; that, having made a beginning with the production of hewing machines in 1929, we already turned out 300 in 1931, and propose to turn out 1,000 in 1932; that, having produced the first specimen combines in 1930, we turned out 3,600 in 1931 (we are occupying now already second place in the production of combines), and propose to turn out 22,000 in 1932; that we have learned, on the one hand, to manufacture exceptionally light and effective electro-motors, and on the other hand, fine, large turbine-generators of high power (in Kharkov a giant works is springing up now that will specialize in their production).

In this connection, the power basis of the Socialist economy—the power of our electrical stations has made great progress (an advance

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of 40 per cent in 1931). The power of our electrical stations is now almost four times higher than the pre-war power, and next year it is expected to exceed it five times and more. Finally, yet one more fruit of long years' endeavor will mature in 1932—the Dnieper electrical station, first of all. And do we fully realize that the completion of Dnieprostroy means a thorough change of a whole enormous district, that it means a whole electrical Dnieper, which begins to flow through the conductors, that it means streams of high-grade steel and aluminum, the opening of a large waterway for shipping, etc.? And yet, it is precisely this that will meet our eyes in 1932, when, for us, the scaffolding around the Dnieprostroy will be removed!

Let us also realize what is actually going on in the agricultural domain. In 1932 an acreage of 144 million hectares, compared with the pre-war acreage of 114 million; 106,000 tractors on the fields of the Soviet Union already in the Spring of 1931 to which no less than 30,000 have been added since then, our tractor industry being already able to add no less than 16,000 every quarter (last quarter in 1931); 900 million roubles invested in equipment in 1932, whereas in 1928 all agricultural machinery was valued at 1,058 million roubles; tenfold production of super-phosphate, compared with the pre-war period, still quite inadequate, and colossally increased in 1932, etc.

Alongside of this, 62 per cent peasant farms are collectivized, and there exists the prospect that in 1932 the percentage will be 75; 79 per cent of the whole acreage already falls to the socialized sector, and in 1932 this will increase to 88 per cent. Endeavors are being made to overcome the deficiencies in the sphere of cattle breeding caused by the resistance of the kulaks to the Socialist advance in the agricultural domain, etc. In 1932 the new collectivized village will be given its final definite form, and by the end of this year we shall have before us an utterly different type of agriculture and rural life, an utterly different rural population to the one in whose midst we hitherto lived and worked.

But the towns, too, are also assuming a different aspect; since 1931 they have been rapidly changing. True, this process is still in its initial stages, but considerable progress will be made on this line already in 1932.

Already in 1931 there was considerable alleviation of the difficulties that characterized the 1928-30 period, with regard to the food and supply question. This improvement was, after all, due to the fact that the Socialist offensive of the proletariat and poor peasantry, supported by the middle peasants, overcame the resistance of the remnants of the former ruling classes, that the Socialist method of production began to develop on a large scale. The 1932 economic

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plan provides for a series of measures that will help to overcome these difficulties (through the development of agricultural production) of the food and light industries in general, etc.; it is also proposed to raise wages in accord with the growth of the productivity of labor. There can be hardly any doubt whatever that 1932, even to a greater extent than 1931, will be the year of improvement in the conditions of the Soviet Union workers, the year when many of the present difficulties will be relegated to the limbo of the past.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-one was the year when we learned to work and control work in the new way, when Comrade Stalin's six classical conditions were being energetically inculcated into the life of the people—conditions that alone can guarantee the development of the complicated industrial economy of the Socialist epoch, with its millions of collective masters, rapidity and effectiveness being necessary features of this Socialist economic development. In 1932 must be the year when these conditions are to be fulfilled. This will mean that we are really building up a well-developed system of Socialist economy and social life.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-two is the last year of the struggle for the first Five-Year Plan. Struggle for metal, for the reorganization and reconstruction of transport, for the completion of the development of engineering—such are the three "shock" points on which attention will be specially concentrated in the new year. The methods of this struggle were already laid down in 1931. Broad development of Socialist competition and shock brigade activity, work for mastery over technique, full application of the "Six Conditions." But just because the fundamental points and fundamental methods have been tested and assimilated, the struggle must be even more energetic and decisive than in the past year, it must produce still better results. Although the task that the Soviet Union has set itself for 1932—to raise the standard of industrial production by 37 per cent—is not an easy task, the objective guarantee of its fulfillment is the fact that the ways and methods have been tested and that there is an accumulation of forces and means created through the efforts of the preceding years.

Before us is one more year of Bolshevik attack, of decisive struggle for the Socialist industrialization of the country. When we shall sum up next year what has been done, out of the removed scaffoldings, on the cleared building sites, there will arise before our eyes, in harmonious perspective, the mighty edifice of the completed Five-Year Plan—a new Socialist country, reconstructed by the indomitable will and inexhaustible strength of the proletariat, headed by its Bolshevist vanguard!

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The Directives on the Second Five Year Plan of Soviet Union

RESOLUTION OF THE XVII PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE C. P. S. U.

1. ON THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

1. The results of the struggle for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years are expressed in the victorious construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The basis of these achievements of Socialism is the policy of industrialization, the advance of heavy industry, the development of the output of the means of production. In the past period our heavy industry has been placed on a firm basis, as a result of which we have been able to set up our own basis for completing the transformation of our whole national economy, i. e., the basis of socialist large scale machine-building industry. In the last year or two new factories have been erected, among them being works which already surpass the level of European technique in various branches of industry. At the same time, the light industry has greatly developed and the rate of development of the food industry far exceeded the proposals of the Five-Year Plan.

2. A radical change has taken place in agriculture, which is expressed in the final turn of the masses of poor and middle peasants of the village toward Socialism. The socialist forms (collective and Soviet farms) have obtained a dominating position in agriculture. The Soviet Union has been converted from a country of small and dwarf farms into a country of the largest agricultural undertakings in the world, on the basis of collectivization, the development of the Soviet farms and the large-scale application of machine-technique. This victory of Socialism, which has solved the most important and most difficult problem of the revolution, is of world-historical importance.

3. The most important result of socialist construction on the basis of the first Five-Year Plan is the final extirpation of the roots of capitalism in the village, which is a precondition to the complete liquidation of the capitalist elements and the complete abolition of classes. The completion of the basis of Socialism in the Soviet Union means that the Leninist question: "Who will be victor?" has been completely and irrevocably solved in town and country in favor of Socialism.

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4. Thanks to the realization of the Bolshevist tempo of Socialist construction and thanks to the liquidation of the parasitic classes, which has been carried out on the whole, we have already in the first five years liquidated the basis and sources of the exploitation of man by man, the people's income is growing at a rate quite unattainable by the capitalist countries, unemployment and pauperism have been abolished, the "scissors" and the contradiction between town and country are being done away with, the standard of living and the cultural level of the workers and the toiling peasants are rising from year to year, mortality is declining and the population of the Soviet Union rapidly growing.

5. All these achievements are the result of the colossal growth of the revolutionary activity of broad masses of the working class and of the toiling peasantry, the result of the tremendous upsurge of Socialist competition and the shock-brigade movement, and finally, the result of the Leninist policy of our Party, which has consistently conducted the attack on all fronts against the capitalist elements.

6. The Party achieved these results in the struggle against the bourgeois theory of Trotskyism regarding the impossibility of the construction of Socialism in one country and of the inevitability of the restoration of capitalism—of Trotskyism, which has become the advance-guard of bourgeois counter-revolution.

7. The Party has achieved these successes in the fight against Right opportunism, whose line consists not only in undermining the policy of Socialist advance but also in direct capitulation to the kulaks and the bourgeois elements.

The creation of the prerequisites for the realization of the first Five-Year Plan in four years, the crushing of the class enemy and the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union is secured only in the decisive fight against both Left and Right opportunism and against conciliation towards the same, and for the general line of our Party.

II. THE MAIN TASKS OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The successes in the realization of the first Five-Year Plan have created the basis for the further and still more powerful development of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

The XVII Party Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of the opinion that the vast natural resources of the country, the Bolshevist tempo of Socialist construction, the increasing activity of the broad masses of the workers and collective peasants and the correct line of the Party will fully secure such a develop-

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ment of the productive forces of Socialist economy in the second five years, as a result of which the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union will be finally liquidated. The Conference is of the opinion that the fundamental political task of the second Five-Year Plan is the final liquidation of the capitalist elements and of classes in general, the complete removal of the causes which produce class differences and exploitation, the overcoming of the remnants of capitalism in economy and in the minds of the people, the conversion of the whole of the working population of the country into conscious and active builders of the classless Socialist society.

On the basis of the liquidation of the parasitic class elements and the general increase of the national income, over which the workers have complete disposal, a considerably more rapid increase in the well-being of the working and peasant masses and at the same time a decisive improvement of the whole housing and communal services is to be achieved. The Conference is of the opinion that the supplies to the population of articles of necessity, including foodstuffs, must by the end of the second Five-Year period be increased at least two to threefold compared with the end of the first five years.

1. The fulfillment of these tasks is possible solely on the basis of the broadest technical transformation of national economy; industry, transport and agriculture.

At the commencement of the first Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union had practically concluded the reconstruction period, and in the last few years proceeded to the reconstruction of a number of key industries, in particular of the smelting industry, engineering, the coal mining industry, not to speak of the reconstruction of the naptha industry which had already been carried out. A special place in the broadly developing reconstruction is occupied by agriculture, which is being rapidly transformed on a new technical basis.

The successes achieved in this sphere in the first Five-Year Plan are, however, only the commencement of the realization of the technical reconstruction of national economy. Meanwhile, with the present inadequate and, moreover, obsolete and worn-out machine equipment of industry and transport, not to speak of agriculture, the Bolshevist tempo of Socialist construction which is necessary for the realization of the fundamental tasks of the Five-Year Plan, cannot be secured unless a technical reconstruction is carried out in all branches of the national economy, and unless the latter is provided with a new machine technique.

The XVII Conference of the C. P. S. U. is therefore of the opinion that *the fundamental and decisive economic task of the second Five-Year Plan is to transform the whole national economy*

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and to create the most modern technical basis for all branches of national economy.

The leading role in completing the technical reconstruction falls to Soviet machine-construction. The Conference is of the opinion that the output of the engineering industry must by the end of the Five-Year Plan be increased at least three to three and a half fold, compared with 1932, so that all requirements of the reconstruction of industry, transport, traffic, agriculture, commerce, etc., can be satisfied by perfect and most modern machines, produced by ourselves.

The most important element in the technical reconstruction of national economy consists in the creation of a modern energy basis, grounded on the broadest electrification of industry and transport and on the general permeation of agriculture with electric energy, utilizing for this purpose the tremendous waterpower, stores of coal, the chief and minor coal fields, local deposits of fuel (turf, etc.). The Party Conference is of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary to increase the production of electric energy in the year 1937 to at least 100,000 million kilowatt hours compared with 17,000 million knilowatt hours in the year 1932. The output of coal must be increased to at least 250 million tons compared with 90 million tons in the year 1932, and the output of naptha must be increased to two and a half to three times the present output.

The XVII Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. is of the opinion that in regard to the most important branches of the national economy, the following tasks must be set up in the second Five-Year Plan:

(a) In the *iron smelting industry*, at least 22 million tons of crude iron must be smelted in the year 1937, in addition to securing for the machine-building industry the necessary production of good quality steel, for which purpose the complete technical reconstruction of the iron smelting industry, with the erection of new works, introduction of new, highly efficient machines, careful preparation of raw material, electrification of labor processes and the utilization of by-products are necessary.

(b) In the *non-ferrous smelting industry*, in the course of the Five-Year Plan, the smelting of copper, lead, spelter, aluminum and rare metals is to be carried out on a scale necessary to satisfy completely the requirements of the country.

(c) In the *chemical industry*, the lagging behind the tempo of the development of national economy as a whole is to be liquidated. Special attention is to be directed to the chief branches of chemistry and especially to the production of chemical fertilizers, which neces-

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sitates the re-equipment of factories and the all-round promotion of the construction of such factories.

(d) In *railway transport*, a fundamental reconstruction is to be carried out, involving the promotion of the building of new railway tracks amounting to at least 25,000 to 30,000 kilometres in length. Some dozen new bridges over the main waterways are to be built; powerful locomotives, wagons with a big loading capacity, electrification of a number of lines, automatic couplings, automatic signals and oil-driven locomotives must be introduced on a broad scale. The development of railway transport has to guarantee the accelerated progress of economy in a number of regions and national Republics whose requirements have by no means received sufficient attention in the past.

In *water transport*, the reconstruction of the lake and river fleet will be carried out; new waterways are to be opened up, the existing ones improved, and the construction of well-equipped harbors on lakes and rivers carried out.

The construction of *streets and highways* and *automobilization* is to be secured at a more rapid pace than the other branches of transport.

Transport on the waterways is to be developed in all the chief directions as one of the most important means of communication between the remote districts and the industrial centers.

Broadcasting in particular is to undergo a great development.

(e) In the *light industry*, and in the *food* industry, production is to be extended and a threefold increase in the standard of consumption of the population per head is to be secured by setting up a big machine-industry and considerably developing the agricultural raw material basis. Here we proceed from the necessity of greatly developing light industry and the food industry in the new districts, especially in the districts producing agricultural raw materials.

In the *timber industry*, which is acquiring extraordinary importance, we have to secure the necessary rate of growth and the introduction of mechanization.

(f) With regard to *small trade and industry*, the production co-operatives must considerably increase the production of articles required by the masses and also increase the development of those branches of trade which supply Socialist industry and agriculture; this must be achieved on the basis of the organization of the whole of small trade and industry in co-operatives.

(g) In *agriculture*, we must achieve the completion of Socialist

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reconstruction; the machine and tractor stations must embrace all collective farms and complete in the main the mechanization of agricultural production. The tasks of consolidating the collective farms organizationally and economically and of socialistically retraining the masses of collective peasants, must occupy our chief attention also in the second Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet farms have the task to increase their production in all spheres, both in regard to technical plants and also in the sphere of cattle breeding, to consolidate their role as models of Socialist organization of production and of the employment of highly developed machine technique and all the achievements of modern agronomy and zoological technique in agriculture.

In the sphere of cattle breeding we must in the second Five-Year period achieve such an increase in the number of cattle and such a growth in the production for the market, corresponding to the solution of the cattle breeding problem in the Soviet Union, as the Party has achieved in the first Five-Year Plan in regard to the grain problem.

With regard to cotton and flax, we have at least to double the gross production and to triple the production of sugar beets. All these measures in the spheres of agriculture demand a further and still more rapid promotion of grain cultivation, so that by the end of the second five years the grain production will amount to at least 1,300 million double centners. Therefore, it must be made the central task of the second Five-Year Plan to raise the yielding capacity of the collective and Soviet farms, and Bolshevistically to solve the problem of droughts.

2. The fulfillment of the task of the complete technical transformation of national economy is indissolubly connected with the acquisition of technique by our economic cadres, the creation of broad new cadres of technical intelligentsia out of the workers and peasants, and the definite raising of the cultural level of the whole mass of the working population.

The quantitative growth of the technical cadres in the Soviet Union must in no circumstances reduce the importance of the scientific qualification of these cadres, which lies in the fact that they have to acquire all the important achievements of international science and technique. The solution of the problem of technical cadres is the most important element in the Bolshevist fulfillment of the tasks of the cultural revolution and the successful construction of Socialism. The all-round acceleration of the complete abolition of illiteracy, the rapid improvement of the whole technical education and the increased material support of the scientific development of

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the Soviet Union by the State—these are the most important tasks as part of the general tasks of building up Socialism in our country.

3. The development of the goods turnover is of outstanding importance in securing the Bolshevist pace of development of the whole of national economy and better satisfying the requirements of the broad masses in town and country as regards articles of daily necessity. The development of the goods circulation—before all of retail trade—and the introduction of the principle of business accountancy in the whole of economic work, is the most important stimulus for bringing to the front the tremendous inner reserves in our economy which have not been fully utilized by a long way, which promote an acceleration of the growth of Socialist accumulation and thereby the consolidation of the material basis of the whole of Socialist construction. Only by developing the circulation of goods is it possible to secure the further rapid improvement of the supplies to the workers and the toiling population of the village with industrial goods and agricultural products, and for this purpose it is necessary in turn to develop in every way the network of shops and stores, besides carrying out the necessary technical transformation of the same. Only on this basis is it possible to prepare for the abolition of rationing and to replace the centralized distributive system by a broadly developed Soviet trade.

In addition, the Party Conference emphasizes the anti-Bolshevist character of the "Left" phrases of the transition to the "exchange of products" and the "gradual elimination of money" already in this stage of the construction of Socialism. The Party Conference, on the other hand, emphasizes that the bourgeois-N. E. P. distortion of the principle of business accountancy—which is expressed in the wasting of the provisions of the people and of the State and, as a result, in the frustration of the economic plans laid down—is incompatible with the policy of the Party and the interests of the working class.

* * * *

The working class will be able to secure the new achievements of Socialism only in the fight against the remnants of capitalism, by ruthlessly defeating the resistance of the declining capitalist elements, by overcoming the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices among the toilers and by carrying on persistent work for Socialist re-education.

This means that for a time an aggravation of the class struggle in its different phases, especially in certain regions and in various spheres of Socialist construction is unavoidable. As a result, the continued existence and in some cases even an increase of the bour-

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geois influence on various strata and groups of the working population will at the same time be unavoidable as will also, for a long time, the penetration of alien class influences into the ranks of the workers, in fact even into the Party. As a result the Party has the task of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and developing still further the fight against opportunism, especially against the Right deviation as the greatest danger in the present stage.

The complete collectivization of agriculture, the development of the big State agricultural undertakings and the equipment of the Soviet and collective farms with up-to-date technical means and machines, which converts agricultural work into a variety of industrial work and brings about a considerable consolidation of transport and goods turnover between industry and agriculture, are the prerequisites for the complete abolition of the contradiction between town and country.

The rapid development of Socialist economy in the period of the second Five-Year Plan necessitates the overcoming in the national districts and Republics of economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the Tsarist, colonial-capitalist regime.

In the second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union will advance to the first place in Europe in regard to technique. The work initiated by the first Five-Year Plan to convert the Soviet Union from a country importing machines and equipment into a country independently producing machines and equipment, will be completed and will "secure the Soviet Union its economic independence, thereby safeguarding the Soviet Union from becoming an appendage of capitalist world economy." (XIV Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

All this creates for the Soviet Union the possibility, already in the second five years, technically and economically to catch up to the most advanced capitalist countries in many branches of economy.

The deep crisis in the capitalist countries is the best proof of the approaching doom of the capitalist world. The achievements of Socialism in the Soviet Union are the best proof of the superiority of the Socialist system as compared with the capitalist system.

In the capitalist countries—catastrophic decline of production, wholesale dismissals and closing down of factories and works, unheard-of destruction of productive forces. In the Soviet Union—uninterrupted, enormous increase in production, broad development of the construction of factories, giant works, collieries, electric-power stations, a rate of development of the productive forces unattainable by capitalism.

In the capitalist countries—frightful unemployment of millions and an extraordinary impoverishment of the masses in the rural dis-

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tricts. In the Soviet Union—complete liquidation of unemployment and abolition of misery, seven-hour working day in the factories and works, uninterrupted increase in the well-being of the toiling masses in town and country.

All this renders the Soviet Union still more a center of attraction for the workers of all countries and the oppressed of the whole world. The revolutionizing importance of the Soviet Union is growing. The Soviet Union is becoming stronger as the basis of world Socialism.

The XVII Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. expresses the firm conviction that the main tasks of the second Five-Year Plan will be not only fulfilled but even surpassed; that accordingly the real concrete economic leadership and the decisive fight against bureaucratism by all organizations of the working class is secured; that the toilers of the Soviet Union will secure the increase in the productivity of labor necessary for the fulfillment of the tasks of the second Five-Year Plan; that the ranks of the participants in Socialist competition and in the shock-briade movement will grow from day to day.

The Conference is firmly convinced that the working class and the masses of collective farmers will find in the Party, in the Young Communist League, in the trade unions and Soviet organizations, Bolshevist organizers and leaders for the victorious struggle for the realization of the second Five-Year Plan.

The Conference considers it necessary, immediately to develop the work of the Party, Soviet, economic, co-operative, trade union and youth organizations in the interest of the most rapid working out of the second Five-Year Plan in order that this will be submitted to the ordinary Party Conference for confirmation.

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Organizational Problems in Our Unemployment Work

UNITED FRONT POLICY OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND PART-TIME WORKERS AND THE RELATION BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS AND THE UNEMPLOYED COMMITTEES.

By S. WILLNER

THE results and the shortcomings of the last national campaign of the unemployed and part-time workers—led by the unemployed councils, the increasing terror and demagogy of the government and its social and national fascist agents in hampering the movement, demands more active and more concentrated political and organizational work of the Party and of the T.U.U.L. In this connection it will be useful to raise the question, how to carry on a correct united front policy and how to build the movement of the unemployed and part-time workers on a sound political and organizational basis. These questions are linked up with the problem of how to fight the government and its agents successfully and how to use the movement of the unemployed and part-time workers to strengthen the revolutionary unions, to found them on a mill, mine and factory basis.

I. THE RESULTS AND THE PRESENT STATE OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND PART-TIME WORKERS

Eight to ten million of workers are unemployed, millions of part-time workers are working only one or two days a week. Drastic indirect and direct wage cuts, wiping out of numberless mines, mills, factories, shops, farms, etc., has already resulted from the capitalist rationalization in the U. S. A., known everywhere as the wealthiest, the most developed and most powerful country of the world.

The number of the unemployed and part-time workers is still increasing. The mass unemployment is of a chronic nature. It is the typical result of capitalist economy. The higher the development of the capitalist economy, the higher the number of the superfluous workers, the more concentrated is wealth in the hands of few, the more poverty among the masses. Capitalism means more wealth for the rich and more poverty for the poor. Capitalism leads to the present world economic and agrarian crisis, to sharpening

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of the class struggle, to sharpening contradictions among the imperialists and contradictions between the imperialists and the Soviet Union. It leads to new imperialist war as already proven by the attack of the bloody Japanese imperialism against China. It may lead to an open attack by the united imperialists against the Soviet Union in the near future.

The unrest among the millions of starving unemployed and part-time workers in the United States is growing rapidly. Their organized actions for immediate relief, for unemployment insurance, against wage cuts and against evictions are gaining more and more of a mass character. It is due mainly to these actions that the governments of many cities and states were forced to grant some relief and to start once again some charity campaigns. The outstanding actions of the unemployed during the last few months were: (1) the National Hunger March of 1,600 delegates to Washington (which were elected in thousands of meetings of the unemployed and part-time workers) demanding immediate relief and unemployment insurance; (2) state and county hunger-marches of many thousand workers demanding relief, unemployment insurance and work at trade union wages; (3) finally, the Unemployed Insurance Day on February 4th in which hundreds of thousands of unemployed and part-time workers participated. In addition to this, many militant actions against evictions took place, for instance in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Minneapolis and other cities. In many places these actions led to sharp conflicts with the armed forces of the state. Especially important in the entire movement is the growing unity between colored and white workers.

Increasing violence and demagogy are the methods of the Hoover government, used to quiet the starving unemployed and part-time workers and to prepare the minds of these masses for accepting the imperialist war. But there are certain more or less new measures being developed by the capitalists to swindle the unemployed and part-time workers, to hinder their struggles and to stop the development of those struggles into powerful, revolutionary mass struggle. With these measures we want to deal first. These measures are:

a) *The nation-wide campaign against Soviet Russia* to minimize the tremendous success of the Five Year Plan, to spread lies among the masses about the conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union. For months the capitalist press has been conducting a systematic and clever campaign of such a kind as to depress the workers and make them believe that not Socialism but only a new war will bring back prosperity and jobs.

b) *The increasing fake maneuvers of the Socialist party.* They held a national conference to call the workers to support the Dis-

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armament Conference of the League of Nations. They issued their own unemployment bills on a national and state scale, which made the workers pay for the unemployment relief and which proposed no tax on the rich. In Pennsylvania they issued their own unemployment bill in the State Legislature. They called a conference in Pittsburgh. They carried through a campaign against the Hunger March led by the unemployed councils. They work together with the A. F. of L. They use money, given by the government to destroy the revolutionary trade union movement especially the N. M. U. They try to split the masses especially the colored from the white.

c) *The increasing fake maneuvers of the A. F. of L.* concerning the way out of the crisis and relief for the unemployed. In the past the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor were openly opposed to general unemployment and part-time workers' insurance at the expense of the industry and the government, as proposed by the Communist Party. The leaders of the A. F. of L. supported Hoover in carrying through the stagger system and the direct wage cuts, under the slogan, "Relief for the unemployed." Now they come out with fake demands such as "The state must control the industry," "The six-hour day and the five-day week must be carried through immediately by the state, to bring the unemployed back to work." To cover their dirty social-fascist role which they are playing for the benefit of the capitalists, they start to cry: "We want relief for the unemployed, no matter what kind." In fact they propose and help the bosses to carry through new wage cuts.

This line was emphasized very sharply by the convention of the United Mine Workers of America, which was held in January in Indianapolis, where a resolution was passed demanding "Federal control of the bituminous coal industry and immediate adoption of the six-hour day and the five-day week." The vice-president of the U. M. W. of A., Phillip Murray, an outspoken enemy of unemployment insurance, declared in a demagogic speech: "Statesmen say that unemployment relief is a local question but when a bank fails, that is a national question. We want relief, whether we get it by appropriation or work. We need food. When there is need in the midst of plenty, we don't care whether we get relief by dole or in some other way just so we get it." The fakers got relief. Lewis accepted a million dollars from Hoover to break the strikes, led by the N.M.U., and to strengthen the U. M. W. of A.

The wage cut forced upon the railroad workers was also carried through under the slogan, "Relief and jobs for the unemployed." On the other hand in the building trade unions the bureaucracy are setting the unemployed and employed systematically against each other. In the building trades they have done this because there was

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no sufficient possibility to put in effect the stagger system as was done in the steel, mine and other industries. The fakers have already built up a wall between these two sections of the building workers to save their personal position.

d) To confuse and swindle the unemployed and part-time workers, a new movement was started in Pittsburgh. *The movement is led by the catholic priest James Cox* and is based on semi-proletarian and petty-bourgeois elements. It is intensively supported by the heavy industry as well as by the entire capitalist press. Father Cox organized a "march of the jobless" of the Pittsburgh unemployed to Washington, supported by police and gangsters, "to demand work for the unemployed from the federal government" and to destroy the increasing influence of the Communist Party among the unemployed and part-time workers. Cox mainly supports Pinchot, a figure in the coming election who has already carried through similar demagogy on the question of getting work for the unemployed. Cox tried to strengthen his movement by organizing mass meetings, by raising funds for establishing relief kitchens. He makes use of the right-wing fraternal organizations and churches in his campaign of funds and raised thousands of dollars.

The Cox movement made quite a success. Fifteen thousand workers participated in the march to Washington. More than 25,000 workers and petty-bourgeois elements gathered in the Pitt Stadium in Pittsburgh on January 15th to listen to the speeches of Cox and his agents. Many mass meetings were organized in the mine and steel cities, in the heavy industry in the Pittsburgh district, such as Homestead, Ambridge, New Kensington, McKeesport, etc. The Cox movement confuses a number of the followers of the unemployed councils and the revolutionary trade unions. There are many who believe it will be necessary to unite with the Cox movement. There are also many who participated on the march of Cox to Washington and who are collecting money for him instead of fighting against this faker's movement.

The Cox movement clearly contains national fascist tendencies linked up with catholic religion. Cox and his agents are using the same demagogy as Bruening and Hitler in Germany. He attacks the big capitalists such as Rockefeller, Mellon, etc. He charges Rockefeller with not paying taxes to the government. He declares Mellon, former secretary of the treasury, has nothing for the soldiers, who went to save America, but he returns two billions to his wealthy friends. He said, "There should be no rich, privileged class. There are starving thousands who need the money, which the millionaires spend each year to go to the Riviera." He attacks New York as the city "where the rich are living, who took away the money from the poor." He attacks "the arrogant administra-

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tion of the Hoover government," against which," he said, "must be conducted the fight." He made successful war propaganda. He led the hunger-marchers to the grave of the unknown soldier. He called the masses present in his meeting to take off their hats before the American flag and to swear that they are willing to die for America. He had the masses repeat the following oath: "I sweat alliance to my flag and to the republic for which it stands. One nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Cox' attache, Matthew A. Dunn, compared him with Abraham Lincoln. He said in the meeting: "We have a real shepherd with us. Another Abraham Lincoln who will not stop this fight, until he has made it possible for every man and woman to enjoy the freedom and rights offered them when Lincoln said "with freedom and justice for all."

Cox demands work for the jobless. He asks for five billion dollars which should be loaned by the federal government, to start public works. He threatens to build a party of the jobless and to run for president in the coming election, if his demands are not granted by Hoover. He declared he would call a jobless convention during September to St. Louis to found jobless party. Furthermore he announced marches of the unemployed to Chicago during the time of the conventions of the Democratic and the Republican parties, to present his demands.

II. THE SHORTCOMINGS AND THE NEXT TASKS OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND PART-TIME WORKERS

The general picture given here shows that there has been considerable success in the unemployed movement since the International Unemployment Conference in Prague was held. But if we compare the present state of the unemployed movement and its activity with the increasing objective possibilities and the increasing counter actions of the government and its agents, it must be admitted again, the tempo of the development is very insufficient. The unemployed movement is still far behind the radicalization of the masses. In certain cases the government and its agents were able to confuse our ranks and to hinder the development of the unemployed movement due to the insufficient work of the Party and the revolutionary trade unions.

The main reason for this is that *the revolutionary unemployed movement is politically and organizationally still too narrow.* The movement is for the most part limited to the unemployed. Millions of part-time workers are not yet involved. Therefore the movement is dangerously isolated from the working masses. The correct slogans and demands, emphasized in the last resolution of the Cen-

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tral Committee are not concretized sufficiently. The demands of the unemployed councils in the different cities and states as well as their activity are still to general. The whole movement is not steady enough. There is too much jumping from one campaign to the other. There is no systematic development and serious following up of the several campaigns. *The united front policy is insufficiently applied.* There are not attempts enough to involve the unemployed and part-time workers and their families, the different workers' organizations, certain petty-bourgeois and farmers' organizations, etc., in the daily activity to organize mass campaigns for gaining the demands. The political activity in the ranks of the unemployed is also very insufficient. The united front tactic as the main tool of the revolutionary movement to expose its enemies and to unite the workers, is not used at all. Important attempts were made but mainly on a national scale, to expose the fakers of the American Federation of Labor. It is necessary to emphasize again and again the main tasks which must be carried out in order to develop a mass unemployed and part-time workers' movement. These tasks are:

a) To emphasize constantly that *there must be built a strong movement of the unemployed and part-time workers and not an isolated movement of the unemployed only.*

b) To raise simple, local demands which recognize the special conditions of the Negro, foreign-born and young workers, as well as the special needs of the children. There must be raised demands which will be accepted by the workers as correct and necessary, and which can, therefore, be utilized to bring together the masses and to carry on mass struggles against the city and the state government as well as against the bosses. The main national slogans to be used for this purpose were correctly emphasized in the October Resolution of the Central Committee. This resolution said:

> "1. Instead of Hoover's charity proposals, immediate federal and state emergency appropriations to provide *adequate relief* to *every* unemployed worker and his family.
>
> "2. Immediate undertaking of extensive public works, particularly new houses, schools, hospitals, etc., in the working-class neighborhoods; such work to be paid for at trade union wages.
>
> "3. No evictions of the unemployed; free rent, gas, light, water, etc., to all unemployed workers; reduced rates and rents for part-time workers.
>
> "4. Transform the huge wheat and cotton stocks held by Farm Board into bread and clothing for immediate free distribution among the unemployed.
>
> "5. The seven-hour day without wage reductions, and six hours for minors and young workers.
>
> "6. Payment of *full wages* to all part-time and 'stagger plan' workers by the employers.

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"7. Prohibition of all forced labor or coercion of any kind in connection with insurance or relief for the unemployed."

c) These struggles must be linked up, as stated in the resolution of the Central Committee, through intensively bringing forward the unifying slogan: Immediate unemployment insurance at *full wages* to be paid by the employers and the government to all workers, this insurance to be administered through organs elected by the workers themselves. These struggles must be developed into powerful actions for unemployment insurance. *The entire fight must be used to develop continuous local actions*—for free speech, for the right to assemble, to demonstrate, to strike and picket, and for smashing the terror of the bosses and their police. The fight must be connected with the struggle for Negro rights and against persecution of the foreign born by using the slogans, no discrimination against Negro or foreign-born workers in the payment of relief or insurance, in giving out jobs, etc. It must be utilized to compare the wealth of the rich with the poverty of the unemployed.

The struggles must be organized on a broad united front basis. They must be utilized to expose constantly the bourgeois and reformist demagogy and their war preparations and their increasing attacks against the Soviet Union.

d) The struggles of the unemployed and part-time workers must be utilized constantly for building up the unemployed movement organizationally by electing broad united front unemployed and part time-workers committees and councils, by recruiting the unemployed and part-time workers into the revolutionary trade unions and opposition groups, by developing the fight inside of the mines, mills, factories and inside of the organizations of the A. F. of L. and of the so-called "progressives," by issuing unemployed papers, by carrying through special activity to develop thousands of new active functionaries of the revolutionary movement and thousands of new members of the Communist Party.

III. HOW TO CONCRETIZE THE DEMANDS OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND PART-TIME WORKERS AND HOW TO ORGANIZE THEIR FIGHT ON A BROAD UNITED FRONT BASIS

Now we will show with some examples how to concretize the demands of the unemployed and part-time workers, how to organize their concentrated fight on a broad united front basis, lead by the unemployed council, how to expose the government and its agents before the masses by utilizing the united front tactics. Let us start with the question, how should the demands of the unemployed and part-time workers be concretized.

For this there are many possibilities:

a) The section unemployed council of the South Side in Pitts-

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burgh discovered that there are not less than 2,000 single unemployed and part-time workers (men and women, colored and white) without any relief. On the other hand there is a big dining room empty, belonging to a steel mill which is closed up. The section unemployed council demanded from the city government that the dining room should be used to establish immediately a place where the unemployed and part-time workers will be supplied with two free meals daily.

b) In the different coal fields there are many mines closed up. The miners are unemployed and starving. On the other hand many thousands of unemployed and their families are freezing because they have no money to buy coal. The unemployed council demands from the city or state government to open up immediately several of the closed mines under its own management to dig coal to supply the unemployed and to give in this way jobs to a number of unemployed miners.

c) An investigation by the unemployed council of the conditions of the unemployed in the Negro section of a city shows that there is discrimination against the unemployed Negroes in the distribution of the relief given by the city government. The section unemployed council demands immediately increase of the relief to the colored unemployed and their families.

d) There are other concrete demands such as: building up of subways and other means of transportation; building of hospitals, schools, etc.; wrecking of old quarters of the various cities and building up new houses by the city government and to supply in this way the unemployed with free apartments at the expense of the city; the city government must take possession of empty houses in order to supply the unemployed with free apartments; to build up reading and meeting halls for the unemployed, conducted by the unemployed councils; to give free milk to the families of the unemployed; to supply the families of the unemployed with potatoes, flour, meat, etc. Special demands should be raised in the trade unions of the American Federation of Labor, etc., such as to increase the benefit to the unemployed, to support the unemployed council financially, to permit using their halls, to pass decisions endorsing the demands of the unemployed and part-time workers.

In the past the unemployed councils usually tried to carry through the struggle by calling a meeting of the unemployed, and electing a delegation to see the mayor and present the demands. If the mayor refused to grant the demands, a meeting was again called to give the report of the delegation and the struggle was at an end.

Now how must the unemployed council organize the fight for

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these demands on a broad united front basis, and how can it take the initiative to expose the government and its agents by utilizing the united front tactic?

First of all the unemployed council concretizes the demands, to make them clear to each unemployed worker. The unemployed council calls mass meetings in the different neighborhoods of the section to discuss the demands and to mobilize the unemployed and part-time workers. In addition to this the unemployed council sends the demands to the Communist Party and to all workers' organizations, sympathetic to the unemployed and part-time workers' movement, asking them to endorse the demands and to participate in the fight. In the same way the unemployed council must act to involve in the fight the workers in the different mills, mines, factories, located in the section. The best method to make known the demands to the above-mentioned workers' organizations and to the workers inside of the factories and to discuss the necessary steps to organize the fight is to send special delegations of the unemployed councils to their meetings, to call special meetings of the workers of the different mills and factories, to call special conferences of representatives of all these organizations, mills, mines and factories.

But not only the symathetic organizations and the workers inside of the factories should be asked and mobilize to support the demands.

It is necessary to emphasize especially that also the workers of the locals of the A. F. of L., the workers of the reformist language organizations, the reformist Negro organizations, and those workers who are under the influence of such social demogogs as Father Cox, must be asked to endorse our demands and be mobilized in the fight for them. This is very necessary in order to deepen the split between the workers and their reactionary leaders. In such a manner the unemployed councils must force the reactionary leaders to take a clear stand on the program of the unemployed councils. These fakers try to divert the masses of the unemployed and part-time workers away from the struggle for immediate demands against the city and state government to turn them into colorless national fake campaigns directed to the federal government. Numberless delegations of the different neighborhoods, unemployed and part-time workers' committees, committees of the workers of the different factories and of the unemployed councils must be sent to these fakers. They must be asked to appear in the meetings and defend their position on the demands. In this way they must be exposed and unmasked among the masses of their followers.

After such thorough preparations and after such broad mobilization of the masses, the demands must be put before the city gov-

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ernment by specially elected delegations. There should be not only one delegation, but as many as possible should be sent by the unemployed and part-time workers, by the workers of the different factories, by the workers' organizations, etc. At the same time there must be started a systematic political fight against the city government and its agents by calling meetings and demonstrations, issuing leaflets and unemployed papers, exposing the corruption in handling of the city funds and exposing the graft, etc. This fight must be linked up with systematic revolutionary propaganda for the united front on the basis of the class struggle, to develop the masses of the unemployed and part-time workers politically. Such movements must be started in the different sections of each big city, in the different countries, in the smaller cities and villages. The campaign must be developed into a stubborn fight through which the right to speak, to assemble, and to demonstrate will be accomplished in the different cities and in which the unemployed will gain a certain amount of relief. The nation-wide campaign for unemployment insurance and the other political issues of the Party based on such active local struggles will be successful and will sharpen the class struggle.

IV. ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN THE UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT

The examples how to conduct and to strengthen the unemployed movement on a broad united front basis show clearly the necessary organizational forms of the united front unemployment movement. These forms are:

a) The basic unit is the unemployed committee in the neighborhood, in the flop houses, on the bread lines, in the shop kitchens, in the unemployment and registrations agencies *which must be elected in the meetings of the unemployed and part-time workers*. The unemployed committees are the instruments of the unemployed councils to carry through their policy, by registering the unemployed, by organizing meetings and demonstrations, by organizing defense corps, by distributing literature and selling papers in the respective neighborhood. The unemployed committees must develop a broad staff of active helpers to carry through the work.

b) The *unemployed council* on a section, city and district scale as the leading body which conducts the entire unemployed movement. The members of the unemployed councils *must be elected by the unemployed or their representatives, as well as by the organizations* participating in the work of the unemployed councils. The unemployed councils are not affiliated to the T.U.U.L. or to the Party. They divide their work by building up special committees, such as organization committee, agit-prop committee, relief

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committee, housing committee, press committee, trade union committee and so on. By using these organizational forms the masses of the unemployed and part-time workers can be united. Thousands of them can be involved in the daily activity, to mobilize and lead the unemployed and part-time workers and to hold permanent connection with each unemployed family.

To strengthen the entire unemployed movement and to enable the unemployed committees and the unemployed councils, to carry out systematic work it is very important to build up headquarters in each section, city and district. They must become real centers of the unemployed and part-time workers' movement.

This organizational line, many times strongly emphasized by the Comintern and R. I. L. U. and by the Central Committee of the Party is not yet carried out. The sectarian tendencies which hamper the development of the unemployed and part-time workers' movement still remain. They are expressed in the misunderstanding of the character, the role and the tasks of the unemployed committees and councils, in neglect of the work of electing broad unemployed committees and unemployed councils. Furthermore these tendencies are shown in the neglecting to develop the political, agitational and organizational work of the unemployed committees and councils, and to establish collective leadership by involving thousands of workers into the activity. There are still strong tendencies to build up narrow special organizations of the unemployed by recruiting individuals for so-called unemployed branches of the unemployed councils. These tendencies are hang overs of the former wrong opinion on how to build up and to conduct the unemployed movement. According to this wrong opinion, the basic unit of the unemployed movement was the neighborhood branch of the unemployed, in which unemployed workers (men and women, youth, Negro, native and foreign-born) should be recruited, membership cards should be given out and dues should be paid, at the rate of 2 cents a week. The delegates of these unemployed branches should build the unemployed councils. In spite of the fact that this line was corrected by the R.I.L.U., there is no serious fight by the Party and the T.U.U.L. to overcome the sectarian tendencies. In many districts the work still is based on this wrong line and very insufficient attempts were made to apply the line of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. This is true for the districts of Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland and also New York.

V. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS, TRADE UNION OPPOSITION AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT MOVEMENT

The former wrong line regarding how to organize and to con-

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duct the unemployed movement resulted in the following shortcomings:

a) The unemployed movement was unable to reach broader masses of the unemployed. The so-called unemployed councils were in fact not elected, united front organs to lead the struggles of the unemployed, but a certain kind of unemployed branches.

b) The members of these so-called unemployed councils, which should have become the driving force in the unemployed movement became a narrow isolated unemployed organization.

c) The T.U.U.L. or Party organizer became the substitute of the unemployed council and the only driving force in the unemployed movement.

d) The R.T.U.* and the T.U.O.* as a whole became disinterested in the unemployment movement. They considered the work for developing and conducting the unemployed movement as not their job, because a special unemployed organization was built to carry out this work.

e) The R.T.U. and the T.U.O. neglected to utilize the unemployed and part-time workers' movement as the key for mobilizing the workers in the main industrial cities, for penetrating into the large mines, mills, plants and factories, for breaking down the terror of the bosses and starting strike preparations against wage cuts.

f) The R.T.U. and the T.U.O. neglected to utilize the unemployed and part-time workers' movement, to recruit these workers into the revolutionary trade unions and into the revolutionary opposition, as well as into the Party, to build up factory and unemployed branches of the unions, to lay the basis for building up strong factory and street nuclei of the Party.

g) The R.T.U. and the T.U.O. also entirely neglected to develop and organize fractional work inside of the unemployed movementment, to strengthen it politically and organizationally and to carry out the correct united front policy and tactic. A few examples of these shortcomings are:

In Chicago it was possible during the last year to develop a strong unemployed movement mainly on the basis of actions against evictions. More than 10,000 unemployed workers were registered in so-called unemployed branches. The movement was at first very active and militant. But there were no serious attempts to establish strong leading unemployed committees and unemployed councils and to base the movement on a broad united front. Instead of that the unemployed branches became more and more self-satisfied organizations which took care of their members. They did not spread

* In the following we will use abbreviations: for revolutionary trade unions—R.T.U., and for trade union opposition—T.U.O.

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the movement. The hunger march, the different demonstrations and other national actions were limited to the participation of these unemployed branches. On the other hand the T.U.U.L. in Chicago and the R.T.U. and T.U.O. did not participate in this movement to bring it into a correct line. No serious attempts were made to unite the struggle of the unemployed with the part-time workers. The movement remains still isolated from the hundreds of thousands of part time workers of the packing houses, the agriculture machinery and the railroad workers. The R.T.U. and T.U.O. did not recruit new members among these masses. Therefore the membership of the R.T.U. and T.U.O. is ridiculously small. The Food Workers Industrial Union numbers 24 members. The Metal Workers Industrial League numbers 50 members in the city of Chicago. The Railroad Workers League numbers in the entire district 165 members.

In Illinois there are 35,000 miners, working one or two days a week or entirely unemployed. These miners due to the so-called check-off system are members of the U.M.W.A. There are real starvation conditions. But the revolutionary opposition in the U.M.W.A. did not develop the unemployed and part-time workers' movement. The result is that there are only 60 members organized into the opposition, and only a few individual Party members.

In Detroit the entire working class is unemployed or works only a few days a week. A strong unemployed movement was carried on in the last year. The movement was based on the united front and led by the T.U.U.L. But the movement was isolated from the part-time workers. The Auto Workers Union did not play a leading role. The result is the union and the Party did not penetrate sufficiently into the Ford plant and into the other big automobile plants and the small membership of the union stagnated.

In Youngstown the entire working class is starving. But no unemployed and part-time workers' movement is developed yet in spite of the great milintancy of the workers. The National Steel Workers' Union did not take the initiative. Therefore it is based only on a few members. The Party is isolated from the masses.

In the city of Pittsburgh the Steel Workers' Union and the Building Workers Opposition did not yet take the initiative to develop a strong unemployed and part-time workers' movement. Therefore the penetration of the union and the Party into the steel mills is very slow. The unemployed building workers are isolated from those who are working.

In many mining camps and cities the National Miners Union is based mainly on blacklisted workers. The leadership of the N.M.U. did not sufficiently take the initiative to carry through the united front policy, to build up unity between the blacklisted and

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the working miners. They did not sufficiently develop the unemployed and part-time workers' movement. Therefore the local unions are in many cases isolated from the mines. No unemployed and part-time workers' movement is developed and no work inside of the mines is carried on.

On the other hand there are many examples which prove how there can be quickly developed the unemployed and part-time workers' movement as well as active work inside of the mines, mills, etc., by utilizing the correct united front policy and tactic, and by carrying out the organizational line of the Comintern and R.I.L.U. For instance, in McKeesport where in spite of the terror of the government and the bosses and in spite of the maneuvers of Cox a strong movement has been developed, based on the unemployed and the workers inside of the steel mills, the comrades decided to double the membership of the Steel Workers Union and of the Party in two weeks. New Party nuclei in the steel mills are already built up. In other cities there is the same development.

The criticism above has already answered the question what must be the relation between the R.T.U. and T.U.O. on the one hand and the unemployed and part-time workers' movement on the other hand. But to make it entirely clear we will repeat:

1. The R.T.U. and the T.U.O. in the A. F. of L. must finally understand that it is their job to raise, develop and conduct the unemployed and part-time workers' movement. They must start this movement by using the united front policy, to build up a broad independent and permanent united front unemployed and part-time workers' movement based on the unemployed committees and unemployed councils. They must conduct this independent movement politically and organizationally by developing fractional work of their members inside the unemployed committees and councils.

2. To start the movement in a certain city, in a certain section of a city or in a registration agency the respective executive committee of the R.T.U. or of the T.U.O. must issue leaflets, and call a meeting of the unemployed and part-time workers under the name of the union. The speaker of the union must propose necessary local demands. He must explain the methods how to fight for these demands, how to build up the unemployed and part-time workers' movement. He must conduct the election of unemployed committees for the respective territory, for the respective bread line, flop house, registration office. He must explain how these unemployed committees must work, that they must connect up with the section or city unemployed council.

The speaker of the union or opposition group must explain furthermore the necessity of building up strong revolutionary unions, to support the unemployed and part-time workers' movement, to or-

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ganize the fight inside of the mines, mills and factories against wage cuts, for better working conditions and carrying on work inside of the A. F. of L. He must ask the unemployed and part-time workers present in the meeting to join the representive union or opposition group. He must distribute application cards.

3. The local executive committee of the respective R.T.U. or T.U.O. must divide the recruited members into part-time workers and into unemployed. The executive committee calls the recruited part-time workers for meetings to discuss especially with them how to support the unemployed and part-time workers' movement, how to start active work inside of the mills, mines or factories, where they are working. It must try to utilize these new members for building up the mill, mine or factory branch of the union.

The respective local executive of the union calls also the unemployed members to discuss the further development of the unemployed and part-time workers' movement, to give concrete tasks for this purpose and to involve these unemployed members into the daily general activity of the union and to build up the unemployed branches of the union or opposition groups. Furthermore the respective local executive must discuss with the entire membership, employed, unemployed and part-time workers, how to start or to support opposition work inside the unions of the A. F. of L.

Now we see, the main unit of the R.T.U. or T.U.O. is the mill, mine or factory branch which elects its executive and carries through activity inside of the mine, mill or factory. The next basic unit of the R.T.U. or T.U.O. is the unemployed branch which elects also its executive and which carries through the work among the unemployed masses of the respective industry or trade, to develop a broad independent unemployed and part-time workers' movement. In cities with a number of main industries or trades and with a number of revolutionary unions and opposition groups, the fraction in the unemployed and part-time workers' movement, which is composed of the unemployed branches of different revolutionary unions or opposition groups works under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity Council.

This form of organization is in line with the organizational principles of the Communist Party. The Communist Party divides its members in mill, mine or factory nuclei on the one hand and in street nuclei on the other hand. It is not necessary to speak especially about fractions of the Party in the unemployed movement. The duty of each Party member (so far as they are wage earners or unemployed) is to be an active member of their respective revolutionary trade union or opposition group. In this way they become the backbone of the fraction work inside of the unemployed and part-time workers' movement.

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How the Crisis Hit the Auto Workers

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN *and* ROBERT W. DUNN

ANNUAL earnings averaging $757 are revealed in a study of Detroit automobile workers. The Labor Research Association made a field study of workers in the Detroit motor factories from August to October of last year. A competent investigator carefully interviewed 111 workers employed by 16 companies, 63 of whom were either on the payroll or had last worked for the Ford Motor Co.

The study shows clearly the decline in wages of motor vehicle workers, chiefly as a result of part-time employment. Average yearly earnings of all the auto workers in the United States, according to government computations, were $1,675 in 1925; and $1,639 in 1929. But actual earnings received by the Detroit workers studied in 1931 are below half the 1929 figure, showing how far the downward trend has carried yearly earnings in two years.

The major facts revealed in the study are given in the following paragraphs.

SKILL AND DURATION OF JOBS

All the leading jobs in the motor vehicle plants were covered in the survey, assemblers and punch-press operators, however, ranking first in number of those interviewed.

Only 12 of the 111 had *not* changed their occupations in the last 10 years; and only 18, including these 12, had worked continuously in the industry for 10 years or more. Some 70 of the workers had been connected with the industry five years or less.

When workers changed jobs, they frequently had to drop to a less skilled and lower paid position. Of 96 who had changed their occupations during the last ten years only 23 had taken more skilled jobs; 44 had taken less skilled ones; the remainder had taken jobs requiring about the same amount of skill.

MOST WORKERS MARRIED WITH FAMILIES

The auto workers studied were not of the unmarried "suitcase brigade" type that is often associated with the auto industry. Only 11 of the 111 men were single. The remaining 100 were married

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and the average size of their families was four and a half persons. Of the 100 family men 69 were the sole wage earners in the family.

WORKING TIME

Most of those who had any work at all during the last year were employed only a few days out of a week, or they were unemployed during a number of weeks at intervals. When they had work, the day (or night) for Ford workers ran the customary 8 hours, with no overtime. The average full-time daily hours worked in certain other Detroit plants and the additional overtime hours were reported as follows: Packard and Chrysler, 8 to 9 hours with 2 to 3 hours overtime during rush job periods; Dodge, 9 to 11 hours with 1 to 3 hours of overtime; Chevrolet, 9½ hours with 2 to 2½ hours of overtime; Cadillac, 9 hours with 2 to 3 hours of overtime. Fisher Body plants were reported to have no established work-day but to operate from 9 to 12½ hours depending on the extent and urgency of orders.

The reports on number of days worked during a week by Ford workers reveal the chronic part-time conditions for those fortunate enough to be retained on the payroll at all. Of the 63 Foord workers only six worked a full five-day week and three a six-day week. Three of them worked from three to four days a week; 19 worked only three days; and 32 of them, or over half of these Ford workers, reported that they worked only two to three days a week. Even when the reports of more days per week in other plants are included, the average working week of the entire 108 auto workers, who testified on working time, come to only two and a half days. This is about one-half the number of days worked in a week by auto workers generally in 1928. In contrast with these half-time jobs some workers, especially in Fisher Body plants, reported a seven-day week during brief rush-job periods.

WAGES DROPPED OVER FIFTY PER CENT

The wage cutting and part-time work in the industry is clearly reflected in the wage figures. Of the 111 workers interviewed, 20 had earned nothing during the previous year. The remaining 90, who reported on annual earnings, show a median wage of $757 for the year. This is less than half the $1639 estimated as the average automobile wage earner's annual income in the year 1929.

All the workers, including the 20 who earned nothing during 1931, gave estimates of the amounts they earned per week when they had a job. The median wage of all the workers was $20.83

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which is a little more than half the average full-time weekly earnings of a group of 154,000 auto workers studied by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1928. The figure given then was $37.05 a week. The $20.83 is the median amount workers received in 1931 when they were on the job as many days a week as the management permitted them to work. For example, Ford workers, who were allowed a job three days a week, usually reported receiving $18 a week. But this was before the recent 14 per cent cut in the minimum wages of Ford workers.

DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES

Out of these wages, low as they are, either as weekly or yearly earnings, a variety of deductions are made by the companies. Workers must pay so much per month as premium for the group insurance which they have been forced by the company to take in order to improve their "loyalty" and "morale." They must also pay if they are late or if they lose a badge or a tool check.

Some typical deductions in the plants of particular companies are contained in the following table:

	Loss of Badge	*Loss of Tool Check*	*Tools. Store*	*Failure to punch card*	*Lateness*	*Insurance per Month*
FORD	$5	$.50	$5	15 m., A.M. half time P. M.	15 min. pay for 1 min.	
PACKARD	5	.25	$3.20			$2.38
CHRYSLER	1			½ hr.	½ hr. for 1 min.	2.80
HUDSON	1	.50		15 min.	½ hr. for 1 min.; bonus deducted for 40 min.	
CHEVROLET		.50				1.50
HUPMOBILE				1 hr.	1 hr.	2.40
CADILLAC						1.50
TERNSTEDT	2				½ hr.	1.50
MURRAY						2.50
DODGE	1	1.00		½ hr.	½ hr.	2.90
BRIGGS						2.20
FISHER BODY	2.50	.50		½ hr.		1.50
McCORD	2.50	.25		½ hr.		

SANITATION AND HEALTH

Washing arrangements were found to be the best in Ford plants, although 12 of the 63 Ford workers reported there were none at all, while 15 said in their department they had only cold water

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for washing. In other plants, such as Chrysler, Dodge, Hupmobile, and Murray Body, the men reported lack of washing facilities in certain departments; the absence of hot water was reported from other departments in these plants as well as in the plants of Chevrolet, Cadillac, Hudson, and Briggs.

Although lighting facilities are usually regarded by managements as a matter for close attention if production rates are to be maintained, a minority of the workers did complain on this score. Fifteen workers reported that the lights were too bright in their departments while nine reported that they were so dim that they induced eye strain.

The temperature of the plants also came in for a good share of criticism with 62 of the workers complaining of either too high or too low degrees. Forty-two of the men reported that it was always too hot in their work places, the heat being so terrific in the summer days that scores of men are overcome by it. Several workers reported on such prostrations; one, having been overcome by the heat, lost his finger in a machine.

Still more serious hazards to health come from the harmful dusts which were regarded by 45 of the workers as saturating the atmosphere where they work. Ford and Fisher Body workers complained particularly of bad ventilation. Air that was too dry was mentioned by 27 workers, while 28 others were on jobs where the air was too humid for health. And 55 of the workers said that poisonous fumes and gases were always around them and caused, in many cases, sore eyes. One worker told of having his eyes rated 100 per cent by a Ford doctor when he was hired, but when he was laid off recently his eyes were markedly defective. Some of the fumes mentioned most often were those from gas ovens, acid dipping, and electro-plating. One worker reported severe pains in legs due to standing continuously on a cement floor. Others complained of oils that cause eruptions on the skin. Several workers suffered from bronchial trouble resulting from the fumes of duco in painting departments; and poisoning from lead, wood alcohol, and benzol was also common in the body finishing departments.

Health conditions, 81 reported, had been worse for them during the last year, due either to unemployment or to the speeding up of those who still held jobs. Twenty-five workers reported that they were forced to stay home sick during the year, seven having been out two weeks or more. Of course, none of them received any compensation for the time they were sick. Thirty of the workers reported definite sickness in their family that could not be remedied because of lack of funds to engage a doctor.

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ACCIDENTS

Increasing accident frequency and severity rates are notorious in this industry, being largely an outgrowth of high speed production. Some 32 of the workers investigated said that the machines in their departments were so crowded that they were a serious cause of accidents; and 18 complained of accidents resulting from overhead cranes and conveyors. Stock on the floor, blocking the aisles, was also given as a frequent cause of accidents, as were falling dies, steel particles flying through the air, and trucks and tractors rushing through the aisles. One worker reported that a hub had fallen from a conveyor on his head. He received three stitches but no time off.

Frequent accidents cited by punch press operators included hands and fingers smashed in the presses. Die makers, lathe operators, and other laborers said their work was especially injurious to the eyes.

Although much publicity has been issued by motor vehicle manufacturers on the great amount of "safety work" carried on in the plants, some 46 of the workers reported that there were few if any measures undertaken by the company for the prevention of accidents; 18, however, said that at least in their departments there were guards on the machines to protect the workers. The state laws, of course, provide for a minimum of protection of this sort, but these laws are frequently violated. A Ford lathe hand reports that the new high-speed machines are extremely dangerous, causing accidents to the hands and arms which were not nearly so common when working on the older and slower type of machine.

SPEED-UP

These accidents have been increased both in number and severity by the speed-up system that prevails in all plants. At least 80 of the workers reported that speed-up was the worst and most dangerous feature of their work, and 82 of the men reported that under the speed-up, prevailing in recent years, they were much more tired after a day's work than ever before.

The speeding up of these workers is manifested in various ways—through new machinery with its faster gearing; through the speeding up of conveyors of all sorts making the men on the line perform each operation at a faster pace; through orders compelling each man to operate more machines; through bosses who drive the men with tongue lashings; through increasing the cutput units required for each worker or each machine; through cutting the time unit required to perform a given operation; and through "adjust-

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ment" of the piece rate and bonus and premium systems of wage payments.

The investigator found welders, lathe operators, and machinists who had had the number of their machines doubled in recent years, and punch press operators whose work had been tripled.

Production per man had been doubled and tripled for most workers as a result of the speed-up growing out of the operation of more machines. Here was a welder who was turning out 1,200 pieces a shift instead of 120. A lathe operator who was formerly turning out 2,300, now did 4,000; another who had done 2,000 now did 4,500 a day. A punch press operator had been speeded up during the same time from 8,000 to 20,000 pieces. A machinist was stepped up from 200 to 500 pieces an hour.

But even with the same number of machines as before the number of pieces required to be turned out on particular jobs had increased tremendously. Here are a few examples from the many reports of similar increases made by individual workers. (In a few cases technical changes contributed, along with speed-up to the increase in output):

Occupation	*Output Before Speed-up Started*	*Present Output*
Punch-presser	2,000	3,000
Plugger	680 sets	890 sets
Lathe operator	6,000	12,000
Metal polisher	200	800
Inspector	7,000	10,250
Rear axle assembler	500	1,500
Metal finisher	80 fenders	150 fenders

Speed-up, due to faster gears, was likewise reflected in the increased output of certain transmission gear drillers who had their units increased from 200 to 1,000; buffers who were increased from 4,200 to 6,800; grinders who jumped from 125 to 330; and punch press operators who were increased from 4,500 to 6,750 pieces a day.

As a result of the increase in conveyor speeds, typical men on a certain assembly line were made to do 1,300 instead of 750 units; 500 instead of 150; 290 instead of 150.

OTHER INCOME OF WORKERS

Recent conditions have been so bad for the workers that many have tried to get other part-time jobs to earn a little more money; some have sold belongings; and many have been forced to borrow

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in order to make both ends meet in the struggle for a subsistence "standard of living."

Of the workers investigated, 27 had been compelled to sell belongings during the last year, receiving for these, amounts ranging from $25 to $371; 14 of them had received sums of $100 or more.

More than half the workers—57—had been compelled to borrow money during the year in amounts ranging from $25 to $800; 18 of them borrowed $250 or more. Exclusive of these borrowings 29 of the workers received "invisible relief" from friends and relatives in sums ranging from $10 to $1,000, twelve of them receiving over $50.

Not one of the workers received help from a mutual aid association, although 27 of them were dues-paying members of such associations, and 15 of these 27 were among the workers who either had to borrow money or who had received help from relatives or friends.

THE BURDEN OF DEBT

Eighty-eight of the workers owed money either to a store, to an individual, or to an organization. The 67 who owed to stores for food, clothing and the like, were in debt in amounts ranging from $15 to $600, 45 of these workers owing $50 or more. The 59 workers who owed money to private persons owed sums ranging from $25 to $2,200; of these 29 owed over $200. In addition there were 16 workers who owed money to organizations, five of these owing over $300. And 76 of the workers had drawn money from their savings during the last year, 20 of them having drawn out $400 or more.

At least 13 of the workers definitely reported losing their insurance policies, houses, cars, and furniture through failure to make installment payments. Some lost houses through the foreclosure of mortgages. Others lost money through bank failures.

CAR OWNERSHIP

The popular impression is that a typical automobile worker owns some kind of automobile; but only 32 of the 111 workers investigated were able to afford any kind of car. Of the 32 car owners 22 owned Ford models of 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, and 1930. Only six owned a model as late as 1930, and of these, three said they were forced to buy the car in order to retain their job. Seven others of the 32 owned a 1928 or 1929 Chevrolet, while one owned

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a 1925 Buick, one a 1927 Buick, and one a 1927 Reo. This was the extent of car ownership among those 111 typical workers.

FOOD

Various budgets have been drawn up by official agencies indicating what a worker's family should have to keep at least on a minimum level of "health and decency." A survey of the food consumed by these Detroit workers shows how far many of them were below even the minimum standards. The figures on wages have shown how far below these minimum budgets the workers' earnings have fallen. And 50 of the workers spoke of lack of variety of foods, especially fruit, vegetables and milk; 35 lacked all three of these.

Hoover's Committee on Recent Economic Changes and various college professors have been making much of the fact that in the United States, before the crisis, workers were consuming more fruits and greens and less of the old-fashioned heavy foods. But among these Detroit workers we find 54 who lacked fruit, 49 who lacked vegetables, and 37 who complained of lack of milk. Two definitely lacked any kind of food, even of the lowest grade, at the time they were interviewed.

Of the consumption of the heavy standard foods the record of these workers shows that the average family was using twelve and three-fourths pounds of potatoes a week, eight pounds of meat, but only seven quarts of milk. The average amount spent on food by the whole family during a whole month averaged only $34.50. No wonder so many of the schedules carried the notation: "children undernourished"; child has weak lungs"; "wife has tuberculosis"; "baby has rickets."

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

In Detroit such relief as there was for the unemployed during the year preceding this investigation came from the city Department of Public Welfare. Of the 111 workers questioned, 24 had received some unemployment relief during this period. These were all persons with two or more children, as those with fewer dependents were not helped. The amounts received, however, were extremely varied and seemed to have no relation to the real needs of the families, indicating a haphazard administration of the inadequate funds available. Here are a few examples of amounts received by workers during the entire year:

$60 for a family of five, the sole wage earner having been out of work for one year.

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$240 for a family of six, with the sole wage earner out for a year and two months.

$144 for a family of seven where the sole wage earner made nothing during the last year.

$65 for a family of four in which the sole wage earner made $60 during the last year.

$160 for a family of three where the sole wage earner had been out for over a year.

A family of four, with the sole breadwinner out, received $7.50 a week for 16 weeks, after which the amount was cut to $4.50. After nine months of relief it was cut off completely.

OUTLOOK

Current outlook for Detroit auto workers, early in 1932, is anything but bright. With unemployment relief sources drying up, with relief amounts being cut, and with no indications of increased employment in the plants, the workers are faced with a much worse situation than during the period covered by this L. R. A. investigation. Standard Statistics Co., leading financial research service, recently stated that it failed "to find any reason for believing that output (of cars) for the six months ending June 30, 1932, next, can come closer than 10 per cent to 20 per cent of the total recorded for the first half of 1931," a year in which output fell to the lowest level since the crisis year, 1921, and about 56 per cent below the high output record of 1929.

Conditions of workers in Detroit are now undoubtedly much worse than those uncovered in our survey; they will become increasingly serious as the year advances.

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The Growing Political Significance of Organizational Work in the Present Situation

By C. SMITH

THE Communist International places before all the Communist Parties the politically strategic task of winning over the majority of the working class. In view of the general decline of capitalist economy, this becomes a concrete every-day task. The present economic crisis, which in extent and depth is the most severe crisis which capitalism has ever experienced, gives a tremendous impetus to the radicalization of the broadest sections of the working class, by the wholesale offensive of trust and finance capital, and its hunger and war government.

Never before in the history of the American labor movement has it been so comparatively easy for our Party and for the revolutionary trade unions to break into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. A great number of American Federation of Labor locals participated in the preparations for the Hunger March of December 7th to Washington, voted for our resolutions, elected delegates, and collected money.

With the wage cuts that are at present being carried through in all industries, we observe widespread ferment and dissatisfaction among the working masses, including the members of the reactionary trade unions. Broad activity has set in on the whole working class front—factory meetings, big mass meetings and demonstrations, spontaneous strikes, growing sympathy for the Soviet Union, the extension of the influence of the Party, of the revolutionary trade unions, as well as of all revolutionary mass organizations, accompanied by constant organizational growth.

But this is only one aspect of the movement. With the growing activity of the workers, the demagogy and activity of the enemy also grows. The bourgeoisie tries to organize new fascist movements and organizations, like that of Father Cox, in order to paralyze the activity of the workers and lead it into channels which not only do not endanger the bourgeoisie, but which can be utilized against the revolutionary workers. It is certainly no accident that the bourgeoisie in using these tactics is concentrating on the indus-

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trial districts, trying to support the American Federation of Labor unions there, and is beginning to open the factories to them (Pittsburgh). Also we must note that the bourgeoisie is more systematically setting about to organize clubs among the toiling Negro masses in order to counteract our growing influence. The systematic counter-activity of the bourgeoisie, which is supported by increasing terror, naturally results in a weakening of the spontaneity of the masses in the struggle for their every-day demands against the capitalist offensive. A comparison of the gigantic unemployment demonstrations on March 6, 1930 and the present unemployment demonstrations confirms this. The difficulties in mobilizing the steel and railroad workers against the 10 per cent wage cut are also proof of this. But we must not make the mistake of thinking that a recession in spontaneity also signifies a halt in the process of radicalization of the workers.

Our conclusions must rather be to stop speculating on spontaneity and to penetrate the masses of factory workers by earnest persevering every-day work, linked up with the every-day needs of the masses, in order to gain the confidence of these workers in these every-day struggles over and over again. Only thus shall we be able to make each factory a stronghold of Communism.

It is evident that with this turn in our daily political work from a policy of agitation and demonstrations to the struggle for the daily needs of the workers, the political-organizational tasks gain increased significance. The role of the Party and of our Red trade unions is to put into the foreground, in place of spontaneity—the strengthening of the subjective factor and building the organizational prerequisites for broad mass strike movements, to rally the workers of the American Federation of Labor unions and the unorganized, the employed and the unemployed, into one revolutionary united front through our revolutionary shop and trade union work.

We must do everything possible to convince the workers of the necessity of the economic strike. It is necessary to show to the workers that under monopoly capitalism their conditions get worse and worse, because capitalism, through increased tariffs, taxes and monopoly prices, constantly decreases the amount the wages can buy and, through increasing capitalist rationalization, throws more millions of workers into the street; but at the same time, due to the general crisis of capitalism, it is forced to depress wages below the value of labor power. This is true not only for the duration of the present cyclical crisis but holds good for the entire period of decline of capitalist economy. Even with a lessening of the present unheard-of economic crisis and a following temporary rise in the trend of business, the workers will never again regain the

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high wages of the past period of prosperity, and a gigantic army of millions of unemployed will continue. It is the increased competition on the world market which forces the capitalists to continue to beat down wages, since the continued extension of the productive apparatus by leaps and bounds, for the purpose of cheapening production, is meeting with difficulties, for even during good times part of the productive apparatus could not be used; and here is the very point where we can and must explain to the workers the connection between the capitalist offensive and the acute war danger.

A main obstacle to the organization of broad strike struggles is the theory that in times of crises it is impossible to conduct strikes successfully. This theory is systematically fostered among the workers by the reactionary trade unions, as well as by all renegades from Communism. Even among our own comrades this theory exists to some extent. Trotsky wrote the following on the economic strikes in France in an article entitled *The Third Period of the Mistakes of the Comintern*:

> "By no means does the perspective of the chronic economic crisis necessarily have to be followed by the perspective of the extension of the economic strike. . . . With a sinking economic trend, with the increase of unemployment . . increased exploitation calls forth not a radicalization of the masses, but on the contrary, discouragement and demoralization."*

But facts speak louder than words. The past year, 1931, was a record year of economic struggles in all capitalist countries. Furthermore, all statistics show that in the past it was in the periods of good times and of crisis that the workers conducted a great many strikes of great extent. Good times were utilized by the workers to improve, through struggles, their living conditions at the cost of the high profits of the capitalists; besides, the workers took as much advantage as possible of the increased demand for labor. On the other hand, during a time of crisis, the worker is forced to struggle, in order to prevent a sinking of his living standard; in fact, during a crisis, he must even fight for increase in wages, because otherwise his already bad conditions will become still worse. The question is only the method by which economic struggles must be conducted in the period of crisis. We find in every period of crisis that the strikes increase not only in extent but also in sharpness, for under monopoly capitalism and with the sharpening of the general crisis of capital, the capitalists are aided not only by

* Retranslated from the German.

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the police but by the state apparatus as a whole, including the church, and furthermore, by the corrupt apparatus of the American Federation of Labor unions, the Muste and other renegade groups.

It is therefore necessary for the workers also to conduct their economic struggles with political means and to connect them as closely as possible with the political struggle of the working class. This has not yet penetrated the consciousness of the Party as a whole, as the miners' strike in Kentucky proves. The sharper the terror of the monopoly capitalists and their state power, the more actively and extensively must the struggle be prepared, led and connected with political means of struggle and slogans.

This is the only possibility for forcing through the economic demands, of breaking the terror and of carrying through higher forms of class struggle, such as the political mass strike. Only in this way, will we be able to win the workers ideologically and organizationally for our Party and for the revolutionary trade unions. Then such dangerous theories that the workers can carry on broad mass struggles only when the relief question is solved will vanish. This theory is only a variation of the view that during a crisis no strike must be conducted. This does not lessen the importance of relief, but we must never approach the relief question in such a manner because it is politically incorrect and would mean that all strikes are impossible. Unfortunately the *Daily Worker* also has no spotless record in this connection.

Lenin in 1912 wrote on the connection between economic and political struggles:

> "It is untrue that a linking up would be a mistake. On the contrary, it would be an irreparable error if the workers would not recognize to the fullest extent the peculiarity, the significance, the indispensability, the basic correctness of such a connection. It is not true that such a linking up would have a bad effect on both forms of struggle. Exactly the contrary is true. It reacts favorably on both; it strengthens both."*

In the struggle for the state unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the bosses, we have a similar situation. Our weaknesses lie not only in the fact that we are carrying on this struggle isolated from the struggles of the factory workers, linking them up too little with concrete partial demands, but also in not politicalizing these struggles sufficiently. How could we otherwise explain the fact that we do not expose the extensive charity campaign of the bourgeoisie, which is carried on with the

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support of all the bourgeois organizations, including the American Federation of Labor trade unions, for what it is—a large-scale political blow against the struggle of the workers for state unemployment insurance. This was a counter-offensive of capitalism against the Hunger March of the workers to Washington on December 7th. The bourgeoisie knows quite well that the payment of general unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and the employers, would essentially increase their economic and political difficulties. With this charity campaign at the expense of the workers they are getting off much cheaper.

It is worth while also to answer the questions as to whether strikes in which the demands were not won should be considered as lost. After such a strike our opponents always try to confuse the ranks of the workers through a ferocious demagogic campaign. Of course all our forces must be mobilized to win the demands of the strikers through the broadest mass actions.

We also have plenty of examples where our revolutionary unions have won strikes. We must explain the necessity of strike struggles to the workers with the greatest determination. To answer this question it is sufficient to quote a paragraph from Engels from *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*:

> "One will ask, in such cases, where the futility of the action (strike) is obvious, why the workers down tools? Simply, because they must protest against the reduction of the wages and even against the necessity of such a reduction, because they must declare that as human beings they do not adapt themselves to the circumstances, but that the circumstances have to be adapted to them, the human beings; because silence on their part would constitute an acknowledgement of these circumstances, an acknowledgement of the right of the bourgeoisie to exploit the workers during good times and to let them starve during bad times. The workers must protest against it as long as they have not lost all human feeling. This protest has its effect; it keeps the lust for money of the bourgeoisie within certain limits and keeps alive the opposition of the toilers against the social and political power of the owning class, while at the same time it also compels them to realize that a little more than workers' associations and strikes are necessary to break the rule of the bourgeoisie. . . . True, these strikes are at first only outpost skirmishes, sometimes also important fights; they decide nothing, but they are the most certain proof that the decisive battle between proletariat and bourgeoisie is approaching. They are the military schools of the workers, in which they prepare for the big struggle, which can no longer avoided; they are the manifestations of the readiness of various branches of the working class to join the general labor movement . . . and as a military school they are of unsurpassable value."

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All this shows that the organization of economic struggles and the activity of the unemployed is the main task in the present period. We must therefore carefully discuss the proceedings and decisions of the Plenum of the Central Council of the R. I. L. U., in the Party and in the revolutionary trade unions. At this session the lessons of the last strike struggles and activities of the factory workers and the unemployed, were drawn. At the same time it must be strongly emphasized that without the leading role of the Party, without concreteness in the daily work of the shop and street nuclei, without the organization of the Communist fraction work, the turn to mass work and the organization of the struggles of the masses is not possible.

In the present situation, more than ever before, all organizational problems are of the greatest political importance. Without the proper solution of the political questions the organizational questions of the Party cannot properly be solved, and vice versa, the political decisions of the Party cannot be carried out in practice without the solution of the organizational questions. At the same time we must constantly remember the decisions of the XIII Plenum of the Party, that the unions are the decisive, strategic points in the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Winning over the majority of the working class means: concentrating the powers of the Party and of the revolutionary unions on the winning of the factory workers. The political center of our struggle must be the shops. Our weakness in the factories at the present time means the greatest loss of tempo. In the struggles for the daily needs of the workers we must win the confidence of the proletariat and carry on the shop struggles as part of the general class struggles. The revolutionary united front must be built up on the basis of the daily struggles in the factories. Our street nuclei and the unemployment movement must support the factory work more energetically, but the decisive initiative lies with the comrades in the factory itself. Only when the factory nucleus learns how to react immediately to every factory event and to set the workers in motion at the moment of the greatest ferment, can we develop the maximum fighting power of the workers. Thus, our factory nuclei must become the leaders of the workers in the shops, and through the application of the united front from below, draw in the most active and conscious workers for the leadership of the movement. Only in this way will we develop new cadres of worker-functionaries. Of course, this task can only be solved successfully if we will understand better than formerly how to combine legal with illegal working methods.

The revolutionary initiative in the factories is at the same time a death blow against the anti-working class policy of the A. F. of L.

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unions, for with these methods we get the most immediate and most lasting contact with millions of members in these trade unions. Through such an organizational policy we will also be cured very quickly of our underestimation of the reformist influence of the A. F. of L. unions. For by doing such work in the shops we will realize more than ever before how great their influence is on the working masses.

Our great weaknesses in the factory work are directly tied up with our weak positions in the trade union field. It must be hammered into the Party and into the revolutionary unions that the development of a broad revolutionary opposition movement, the strengthening and development of new revolutionary unions, and above all, our energetic course for conducting strikes is closely linked up with extensive and constant systematic opposition work in the reactionary unions. The winning over of the masses in the reactionary unions and the unorganized for the active struggle against wage cuts and worsening of the working conditions are the prerequisites for the creation and the building up of our revolutionary unions. But these tasks can only be solved when the Party finally begins the organization of fractions. The Party registration must be the basis for this work. Its results must be avaluated politically and organizationally in big functionaries' meetings and in each individual nucleus. These fractions are the leading force of the Party in influencing the million masses in the reactionary trade unions and winning them for Communism. At the same time the fractions make it possible for the Party to influence and guide the revolutionary trade unions politically. It is an old experience that the Red trade unions too are not free of a certain narrow, often mechanical orientation to the economic problems and struggles of the workers. In organizing the fractions we must differentiate between the opposition fractions in the reactionary trade unions, among the unemployed, or in other antagonistic mass organizations, and the fractions in the revolutionary unions and in the general opposition movement which is under the guidance of the Trade Union Unity League.

The fraction work in the reactionary trade unions as well as in the unemployed movement is organized by the T. U. U. L. In each shop and in each union, as well as in every committee of unemployed, all oppositional workers must be organized into opposition fractions and drawn into systematic work by the T. U. U. L. These fractions, therefore, do not consist only of Communists. Nevertheless, every Party nucleus has the task of building T. U. U. L. groups, and opposition fractions. Where T. U. U. L. groups exist the nucleus must control its work and guide it through the Communist fraction in the T. U. U. L. In order to build opposition fractions, the nucleus collects the addresses of all oppositional trade union

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members in the shop, and develops these workers through political trade unionist training. Where a fraction or a T. U. U. L. group is already in existence, it must organize the work through the initiative of the Communist fraction, bring the oppositional workers into the meeting, develop discussions with them, and bring them into the T. U. U. L. union. All T. U. U. L. members in the trade unions must be included in the opposition fraction. The work of this fraction consists not only in taking an active part in the membership meetings of the unions, but also in working perseveringly on every individual member. The shop fractions are organized into general local fractions of the various unions.

On the other hand, our fractions in the revolutionary trade unions and in the T. U. U. L. leadership, consist only of Communists. The Communist fraction has the task of liquidating all trade union legalistic tendencies which may crop up in the revolutionary unions, to safeguard the revolutionary development of the T. U. U. L. to see that opposition fractions are built, and to control their work, and to activize the political work of the groups and sections.

The main emphasis in organizing the revolutionary opposition in the reactionary trade unions, as well as in the trade union work of our revolutionary unions, lies in the shop. Success in trade union membership meetings and conferences also depends on the systematic winning over and organizing of the oppositional trade union members of the reactionary unions in the shop and drawing them into the united front organizations in the shop.

A drastic movement of our political and organizational work among the unemployed is also urgently necessary. Until now the struggle for state unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and bosses has been conducted only by the unemployed. Up to the present we have not understood how to bring the unemployed movement to the shops. This is a political as well as an organizational task. Demonstrations and joint meetings of shop workers and the unemployed must be conducted against lay-offs, overtime work and for re-employment of workers in the shops. Special demands must be worked out for part-time workers, and this whole program of struggle must be connected up with the demands of the workers in the shop. Conferences and mutual representations of the unemployed and the shop workers, especially through the mobilization of the trade unions, must be organized. The organization of the million masses of unemployed is in the foreground of Party and of trade union work. We must everywhere work out special concrete demands and connect them with our main slogan of struggle for unemployment insurance. But it is also necessary in the course of the struggle immediately to transform

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the unemployed branches, which represent closed organizations, into broad united front organs, by drawing in non-Party workers and A. F. of L. members. In this field of work considerable change and improvement is necessary for further organization of the activity of the unemployed on the basis of their concrete program of demands, for making it safer for the shop workers to strike, and for protection against penetration of the A. F. of L. and open fascist organizations into the hunger army.

In conclusion, a few words on our policy. These tasks of penetrating the shops and the reactionary trade unions, of developing the revolutionary unions, of organizing strike struggles and of the broadest mass mobilization of the unemployed, can only be solved successfully if all political questions and tasks are analyzed and raised in such a way as to strengthen our shop and trade union work. Every blow of the bourgeoisie and of social fascism must be presented so clear by the Party that every member will be able to make use of this political material in his shop and trade union work. Furthermore our Party must explain the theoretical-political basis of the enemy to the members and to the whole working class and must sharply set forth our revolutionary position in contrast.

The shop and trade union problems are the central problems of winning the masses. And if we also solve one problem of shortage of forces by quickly but systematically drawing in new forces of shop workers who have had practical experience in trade union work, then the Party will make rapid progress in winning the majority of the working class.

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The Uprising in Salvador

By O. RODRIGUEZ

THE heroic struggles of the workers and peasants of Salvador, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the January uprising constitute a landmark in the development of the revolutionary upsurge in the Caribbean countries and in the whole of Latin America. All our Parties will have to study the lessons of these struggles in order to eliminate the weaknesses, as well as reinforce the strong sides of our movement, that have come to the surface in the Salvadorean uprising.

This uprising was a mass movement of toiling peasants and agricultural workers against the insufferable conditions of the deepening crisis and of the white terror, against the intolerable oppression of the native landlords and capitalists in alliance with foreign imperialism. It demonstrated a tremendous accumulation of revolutionary energy, readiness to struggle and self-sacrifice on the part of wide masses of workers and toiling peasants under the banners of the Communist Party, the rapid growth of the revolutionary upsurge among the masses which, in varying degrees, is the present characteristic of all the Caribbean countries. The poorly armed— practically unarmed— masses held their ground for over a week against the combined forces of the government, the armed fascist bands of the "golden" youth of the native and foreign exploiters, and warships and marines of Yankee and British imperialism. Despite these tremendous odds, the masses have seized and held such cities as La Libertad, Sonsonate, Ahuchapan and many maller towns, centering in the important coffee region of the country, spreading throughout the entire Pacific coast and seriously threatening the capital of Salvador. The uprising showed the deep sympathies for the revolutionary struggles of the masses that are diffused among the rank and file of the army which, on various occasions, had refused to fire upon the insurgents.

The workers and peasants of Salvador, led by the Communist Party, have written an undying and glorious chapter in the history of the world revolutionary movement. With their lives and blood they have proven to the struggling masses everywhere that on the next and higher stage of struggle, with a stronger Communist Party and more powerful revolutionary unions and Peasant Leagues that

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will be created in the course of the daily fight for the immediate demands of the workers and peasants, and by the application of Leninist principles and tactics, the victory must and will belong to the masses.

Directed by the diplomatic representatives of foreign imperialism in San Salvador, and supported by the Yankee, British and Canadian warships and marines, the government of Maximiliano Martinez has crushed the January uprising of the workers and peasants, killing and wounding between 500 and 2000 people. The government in alliance with the imperialists has unchained the wildest white terror carrying through daily mass executions of all "suspected" of participation or even sympathy with the uprising. With especial bestiality the white terror is raging around the Communist Party, the revolutionary unions and Peasant Leagues. This mad white terror is rapidly spreading to the other Caribbean countries, especially Guatemala and Honduras, in a desperate effort to check the growth of the revolutionary upsurge *and as a measure of war preparations* under the hegemony of foreign (chiefly, Yankee) imperialism. It is the task of the Communist Parties in the Caribbean countries to mobilize the widest masses of employed and unemployed workers, toiling peasants, and all sincere anti-imperialist elements, for a determined struggle against the white terror, especially in Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, against the general offensive of imperialism and its native supporters (wage cuts, unemployment, etc.), against the imperialist robber war on China and for the defense of the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union. *The struggle against the white terror is an essential part of our anti-war campaign.*

* * *

The lack of complete information prevents us at this time from making a complete evaluation of the struggles and lessons of the January uprising in Salvador. But a beginning along these lines can and must be made already now, especially since the Manifesto of the Communist Party of Salvador (published in the Bulletin of the C. P. of Honduras, January 1, 1932) indicates the approach of the comrades to the general character of the uprising.

This Manifesto, which must have appeared shortly before the outbreak of the struggles, suffers from a number of basic defects. These defects are, in our opinion, as follows:

1. The Manifesto does not formulate *the partial economic and some basic political demands* of the masses. There is no mention in it of the 8-hour day, the minimum wage, unemployment relief and insurance, social insurance generally, etc., which are the basic partial demands of the agricultural and industrial workers; while

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such demands as the right of the workers and toiling peasants to organize, to freedom of press and assembly, etc., are handled in the Manifesto in a negative way by merely demanding the "abolition of the August 12 and October 30 decrees." Nor is there any mention in the Manifesto of such partial demands of the toiling peasants as immediate relief from starvation, the abolition of taxation, the cancellation of indebtedness, the abolition of forced labor and other services to the landlords, etc. Nor are there any partial demands for the improvement of the conditions of the rank and file of the Army.

2. The Manifesto does not call upon the masses *for any concrete action* (strikes, mass meetings, demonstrations, etc.). One cannot tell from the Manifesto what *methods of struggle* the Party calls upon the masses to adopt *immediately* and what methods of struggle will become inevitable *in the higher phases* of the struggle.

3. The Manifesto does not propose to the masses any *definite and concrete forms of organization* for the carrying on of the struggle. On this point, as well as on the question of methods of struggle, the Manifesto contains neither slogans of action (Committees of Action, Revolutionary Peasant Committees, Joint Worker-Peasant Committees of Action), nor propaganda slogans (Soviets). The basic task of organizing Workers' and Peasants' Defense Corps is also absent from the Manifesto.

4. The basic demands of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution are not stated with sufficient clearness, especially the anti-imperialist demands (confiscation of all imperialist enterprises, cancellation of foreign debts, withdrawal of all armed and other forces of foreign imperialism, etc.).

These basic defects of the Manifesto clearly show a non-Leninist approach to the task of unfolding the counter-offensive of the Salvadorean workers and peasants against the offensive of the exploiters—by ignoring some of the basic partial demands of the masses, by failing to formulate clear slogans of action on the methods of mass struggle and forms of organization and to link up the slogans of action with our propaganda slogans, pointing out the inevitable course of the development of the struggle, to limit the scope of the mass movement, to isolate the revolutionary vanguard from the basic mass of the workers and toiling peasants, jumping over those phases of the struggle in which the masses become mature for the passing over to a higher stage, and failing to provide for the creation of revolutionary organs of mass struggle, under communist leadership, without which the movement could not successfully rise to a higher phase of development. The actual course of the

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January events, the fact that the fight began with the *highest* form of revolutionary mass struggle (uprising) without the previous development and organization of the daily struggles of the masses through strikes, demonstrations, hunger marchers, etc., demonstrates the same basic weaknesses as those contained in the Manifesto. These weaknesses are the result of the opportunist tendencies in our midst that have a "left" sectarian, a putchist approach to the tasks of the Communist Party. One of the chief lessons of the Salvadorean uprising is the great danger of putchist and "left" sectarian tendencies against which we must wage the most energetic struggle at the same time carrying on a merciless fight against the Right opportunism—the main danger in the present period—which hesitates to place the Party at the head of the masses in their struggles against the landlord-bourgeois-imperialist offensive.

Only by combatting ruthlessly the putchist variety of opportunism —that variety which ignores the objective conditions, refusing to apply the Leninist method of analysis of the relation of class forces, making its own impatience a guide to action for the Communist Party—can we carry on a successful fight against the Right variety of opportunism whose "objective analyses" reflect the pressure of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the social fascists upon the toiling masses.

The workers and peasants of Salvador, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will continue with redoubled energy the fight against the offensive of the exploiters, learning from the defeat how best to prepare the fight for the coming victory. Our comrades must bend all their efforts to *maintain the closest possible contact with the masses* and to prosecute with the greatest energy the task of organizing and leading the *daily struggles* of the workers and peasants for the improvement of their conditions. The utmost attention must be paid to the task of developing methods of illegal work under the present conditions of terror, to protect the Party organization from the mad onslaught of the enemy, at the same time utilizing even the smallest possibilities for legal mass work, fighting for such possibilities, *combining* the illegal with the legal work and concentrating our activities on the plantations, haciendas and factories.

At the time when the workers and peasants of Salvador are facing the combined ruthless offensive of foreign imperialism and the native oppressors, the Communist Party of Salvador will continue to demonstrate to the masses that it is the only Party able and willing to organize and lead their struggles against the native and foreign exploiters.

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On the Theoretical Foundations of Marxism-Leninism

By V. ADORATSKY

Translated from the Russian by L. Katz

(*Continued from last issue*)

IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR DIALECTIC MATERIALISM

WE HAVE seen that dialectic materialism requires a very comprehensive study (in all concreteness) of phenomena as they occur in actual life. It requires that those who wish to be guided by Marxist theory shall study the motive forces behind developments, shall consciously take part in the course of such developments on the side of the revolutionary class, organizing, directing its forces, leading them, acting as their conscious vanguard. Such a viewpoint is possible only with a revolutionary class.

In contemporary society the only consistently revolutionary class is the proletariat—the class that "has nothing to lose but its chains" in the destruction of bourgeois society. Contemporary dialectic materialism is the theoretical reflection of the contemporary proletarian revolution.

Only through organization and struggle can the proletariat defend itself, achieve its purpose, throw off the yoke of exploitation. It must also conduct an organized, uncompromising struggle for its revolutionary viewpoint. The theoretical struggle is an important, indispensible, integral part of the class struggle. (See Lenin, Works, Vol. IV, pp. 319-382, *Wha Is to Be Done?*) We have pointed out above the tremendous importance of revolutionary theory. It is also necessary to particularly take note of and emphasize the importance of the struggle for dialectic materialism.

In the contemporary class struggle two basic opposing forces are being defined ever sharper—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. And corresponding to this two systems of state structure and in opposition to each other: on the one side—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, based on a beastly suppression of the proletarian revolution and defense of the institution of wage slavery (at present mainly by fascist methods), and on the other hand—the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is overcoming the bourgeoisie, suppressing the exploiters, working on the task of raising the activity of the toiling

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masses, developing socialist production and creating a classless society. And in contemporary philosophy we find corresponding basic tendencies: dialectic materialism—the philosophy of the revolutionary proletariat, and the anti-Marxist, anti-dialectic philosophical tendencies which are hostile to revolutionary Marxism and in various forms defend reactionary viewpoints, refined clericalism, etc., striving in the final analysis to subject the proletariat to the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie.

Philosophy in general is intimately connected with politics. Engels wrote in one of his letters to K. Schmidt (dated October 27, 1890) that political, juridical and moral reflections have a most important direct influence on philosophy, that is, that philosophy is inseparably connected with politics. The predominance of one or another line in philosophy, which determines the entire world outlook, has a tremendous significance in the entire conduct of those who are under the influence of one or the other systems of philosophy. Hence it is clear what significance it has for politics. This explains why, for instance, the bourgeoisie is so zealous in its support of religion and of faith in a supreme being, utilizing it for political purposes, and more and more supporting reactionary idealism and clericalism in philosophy in proportion as the bourgeois regime begins to decline to its downfall. The support of one or another philosophical viewpoint is most intimately connected with the class struggle because philosophy is deeply partisan.[1] The bourgeoisie is directly interested in "perpetuating theoretical confusion" in an effort to subordinate the proletariat to its ideological influence. It is the interest of the proletariat, making use of materialistic dialectics as its theoretical weapon, to conduct a struggle against their distortion.

A review of the struggle for dialectic materialism that was carried on by Marx and Engels is given by Lenin in his works published in the present volume, Part I,* and we will therefore not dwell on it here. (See Chapter VI of the book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, The Parties in Philosophy and the Philosophical Non-Entities, Marxism and Revisionism, and Karl Marx.*)

Lenin himself during all his activity conducted a struggle against the bourgeois world outlook, against idealism in all its forms and manifestations, as well as against crude, undialectical and mechanical forms of materialism which are altogether powerless and helpless in the struggle against idealism. Lenin conducted a struggle in the 90's of the last century against the objectivity of bourgeois pro-

[1] Regarding the partisanship of philsophy, see the special chapter from the work of Lenin: *Materialism and Empiro-Criticism.*

* Reference is made to Lenin, Works; Vol. 6, Part I, of which this article is the preface.

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fessors of which Struve was a representative, against the subjectivism of populism. (See *The Economic Content of Populism and Its Criticism in the Book of Mr. Struve*; Chapter II, *Criticism of the Populist Sociology*, etc.), against neo-Kantism, which was defended by revisionism in Germany under the leadership of Bernstein, and by the same Struve in Russia (at present neo-Kantism is the official philosophy of the German social-democracy, the German social-fascists). In the 90's Lenin conducted a struggle against the idealistic philosophy of Mach and Avenarius and their followers, who in Russia were led by A. Bogdanov. The philosophical views of Bogdanov had a significant and widespread influence in our Party (as also had the views of E. During in the German social-democracy of the 70's of the nineteenth century) and the struggle against them was a burning necessity.

Lenin conducted a systematic struggle against the philosophy of Bogdanov, analyzing it in detail, and subjecting his idealism and eclecticism to a withering criticism during the years 1906-1908. In letters to Bogdanov (which to our regret were not published at the time and are still missing and remain unavailable for study), and also in the book published in 1909, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Lenin gave a characterization of the essence of Bogdanov's philosophy and a criticism of it. Characterizing the works of Bogdanov in 1914 Lenin wrote:

> "The sum total of the literary activity of A. Bogdanov amounts to an effort to inject somewhat disguised idealistic conceptions of the bourgeois philosophers into the consciousness of the proletariat. For many years A. Bogdanov has been coming out against the philosophy of Marxism and defending bourgeois-idealistic views against the materialism of Marx and Engels."

Ascribing very great importance to philosophical problems Lenin attentively followed up philosophical literature and, in a series of works, subjected the reactionary views of the bourgeois philosophers and their various followers to a devastating criticism. (See Lenin: Works, Vol. XXVII, *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*, pp. 180-189.)

Throughout his entire activity Lenin studied materialistic dialectics, used it, fought for it, and explained the necessity of studying and applying this theoretical weapon of Marxism. See, for instance, Lenin's pamphlet *Once More About the Trade Unions, the Current Moment, and the Errors of Trotsky and Bucharin*, published in January, 1921, and his article *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*, of March 12, 1922.

Apparently with a view of writing a special work on materialistic dialectics Lenin collected material on this subject during the years of 1913-1916. However, the necessity of taking up other pressing

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work, and the coming revolution made the writing of such a work about dialectics impossible; but a very rich material for it was collected. Quotations and notes collected in philosophical notebooks are still intact and are of incalculable theoretical value. (These notebooks have already been published in full in *Leninski Sborniki*, Nos. IX and XII.)

Such, in broad outline, was the struggle carried on by Lenin for dialectic materialism.

At the present time, beside its basic enemy—bourgeois and petty bourgeois idealism—dialectic materialism has other adversaries such as various revisionist tendencies in philosophy against which an irreconcilable struggle must be conducted. Among such anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist tendencies the most dangerous are the mechanistic revision of Marxism (errors of a mechanistic character are to be found for instance in the works of Comrade Bucharin), and the Menshevik idealism (Comrade Deborin and his group).

The mechanistic world outlook is hostile to dialectics, it denies dielectics, declares it to be scholastics, "metaphysics," etc. The mechanists declare themselves to be materialists, but as a matter of fact their inability to think dialectically makes the mechanistic materialists helpless in the face of idealism, compels them to retreat from materialism, to leave its basis, and to pass over to the position of idealism. As an example, we may point to the inability of the mechanists to understand the question of the relationship of quantity and quality. This is probably one of the most characteristic of those problems that reveal so well the shortcomings and the limitation and metaphysical nature of the mechanistic world outlook. Therefore, we will dwell in some detail on this question.

According to the mechanistic understanding, the explanation of all phenomena that are taking place in the world is to be looked for in the mechanical movement of particles (atoms, electrons), which are qualitatively identical and unchangeable. All qualitative differences between things can be reduced to a difference in the manner of combination of the particles and to differences in their simplest, mechanical movements (changes of position in space). Thus, according to this conception, quality is not something actually existing, but is entirely the result merely of our subjective reactions. Objectively there exists only the mechanical movement of atoms and their quantitative relationship.

Engels in his notes made while working on the question of natural history, wrote with regard to the tendency of reducing everything to a mechanical movement and of seeing in that the only problem of science, that it "smears over the distinctive character of other forms of motion." While considering it incorrect to explain everything by only mechanical motion, Engels at the same time

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never denied that mechanical motion takes place everywhere connected in one way or another with every phenomenon.

> "Each one of the higher forms of motion is always connected in the necessary way with a real mechanical (external or molecular) motion, just as the same higher forms of motion produce simultaneously also other forms of motion; chemical action is impossible without a change of temperature and of electricity, organic life is impossible without mechanical, molecular, chemical, thermic, electrical, etc., changes. But the presence of those secondary forms," adds Engels, "does not in every case exhaust the essence of the main form. We will undoubtedly succeed sometime in experimentally 'reducing' thought to simple molecular and chemical movements in the brain; but does this exhaust the substance of thought?" —F. Engels: *The Dialectics of Nature.*

Engels thus explains, that, though no thought is possible without mechanical and chemical processes in the brain, yet such processes alone will not explain the entire character of thought. Thought must be taken as a whole, including its innermost subjective side, with all its premises and conditions that serve to produce and define it, in other words, in all its concrete reality and not merely from the point of view of mechanical motion. This makes perfectly clear the attitude of dialectic materialism toward each and every separate "quality," in particular to such a qualitatively unique phenomenon as thought. This example illustrates the difference between the understanding of dialectic materialism and the mechanistic understanding.

The materialist dialectician says: thought cannot be torn away from matter; our thought (or, in other words, "spirit") is a property of matter organized in a particular way—in the human brain of a member of a definite historically developed society. This qualitatively unique phenomenon exists in full objective reality. The best proof of this is that we ourselves are thinking human beings performing brain work. We, of course, actually think and not merely imagine that we do. And, after all, even imagination is a definite manifestation of thought. The external world is reflected in the consciousness of man. Thought is not the object itself, reflected in consciousness; it is only the reflection of the object. The teaching of the "reflection" of the external world in consciousness is a fundamental part of the theory of knowledge of dialectic materialism. In the paving stone as well as in the human head there takes place a movement of atoms, and both the paving stone and the head reflect the effect of the external world, but it is perfectly obvious that the motion as well as the reflection in each case are qualitatively different. (In the next chapter we will dwell a little more in detail on the question of our knowledge.)

Mechanistic materialism denies the reality of the unique quality

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of thought; it reduces the whole question to a mechanical movement of atoms (electrons) and places the sign of equality between matter and thought, it considers both of them identical. Such a materialism that denies the reality of higher forms of motion, reducing everything to simple, crude, mechanical movement, to changes of position, becomes wholly defenseless and helpless when confronted by idealism. Because, after all, idealism itself insists on the identity of thought and of the objective world. (See *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Instead of a Preface*, Lenin: Works; Vol. XIII, pp. 18-30, where the point of view of the idealist Berkley is explained, a view which reduces the entire world to our sense perceptions.) Mechanistic materialism thus clears the way for an extremely subjective idealism. It leads unavoidably to the conclusion that the only reality in the world is our senses, because, no matter how much we will try to deny thought theoretically, in actual fact its reality cannot be denied. And again, looking at it from another angle, mechanistic materialism cannot stand up against the idealistic faith in the existence of a creator, of a certain force, existing outside, beyond the world. Specifically, mechanistic materialism cannot explain how that gigantic mechanism which the world presents to it gets into motion. The world machine of mechanistic materialism requires a push from the outside, the world clock must of necessity be wound up, and in order to get out of this difficulty there is nothing else to do but to recognize the existence of a god.

To sum up, correct dialectic understanding recognizes the reality (the actual existence) of qualities as a distinctiveness of forms, as a combination of properties, as special features of things. Within the limits of certain quality, quantitative changes may take place without affecting the quality, leaving it unchanged, but only within certain limits. Beyond those limits, further quantitative changes lead to a jump and a change of quality, and there takes place what Hegel called the transformation of quantity into quality which is something that we meet with at every step both in surrounding nature and in society. Within the temperature limits of 0 degree and 100 degrees Centigrade, under the usual terrestrial conditions (atmospheric pressure, etc.) water remains liquid, retains that particular quality. A temperature of 100 degrees Centigrade is the boiling point; water is then transformed from a liquid into a gas. A 0 degree temperature is the freezing point; water is then transformed into ice, *i.e.*, it turns into a solid body. And thus there appears a new quality that was not in existence before.

With the appearance of a new quality there appears also new quantitative relationships, so that it is possible to talk about the transformation of quality into quantity. The very high quality of con-

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sciousness, discipline, organization and firmness of principle of the Communist Party, that was at first a numerically small but real vanguard of the proletariat, led finally to the fact that the Bolshevik Party was able to control the movement of the masses, many millions strong, to lead tens of millions of them. And thus, in due time, quality was transformed into quantity.

One more clear illustration of the transition of quantity into quality, of the transformation of qualities and the appearance of new quantitative relationships on the basis of a new quality, is the process of mass transition going on at the present time of the middle peasant, the individual proprietor, to collectivization. A new social strata, a new quality is being created. The middle peasntry as a mass was an ally of the Soviet power; as members of collectives, however, they are being transformed into a direct support of the Soviet power. We should also note in this connection the fact mentioned by Comrade Stalin in one of his speeches, that under collectivization the mere bringing together of the equipment of individual peasant holdings results in collective farms of much higher productivity than the same amount of tools and power can yield in individual holdings. The collectivization creates a new quality of social relationships, which immediately reveal themselves in an increase of the productivity of labor, in more satisfactory results of labor both qualitatively and quantitatively.

There is no end to such examples of transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa that could be cited. This proves the correctness of dialectic materialism that teaches that these two sides of phenomena are intimately connected with each other, one passes over into the other and yet each one of them have a very real existence. With the mechanists, however, a confusion takes place because they deny the objective existence of quality and consider the quantitative side as the only reality, are unable to understand the peculiarities or, as the scientists express it, the "specific" nature of different phenomena. This inability to utilize dialectics actually leads to the fact that the mechansts stop at the conclusions of only one science (mechanics), are unable to utilize the experience of all the other sciences, and expect to see the final truths in the conclusions of that single science alone.

Already in 1908 Lenin raised substantial and fundamental objections against mechanistic materialism. "The recognition of the existence of certain unchanging elements, of the 'unchanging substance of things,' etc., is not materialism, it is a metaphysical, *i.e.*, anti-dialectical materialism," Lenin wrote in the book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, and explained further that dialectical materialism insists on the approximate, relative character of every scientific conclusion on the structure of matter and of its properties, on

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the absence of absolute lines of demarcation in nature, on the transformation of moving matter from one condition into another, from our point of view, seemingly incompatible with the first, etc. And in conclusion Lenin expressed his complete agreement with Engels that for dialectic materialism there is only one thing that is unchanging: the recognition of a world that exists outside of ourselves, that is reflected in our consciousness.

> "There is only one thing that is unchangeable from the point of view of Engels and that is the reflection in the human consciousness (where the human consciousness exists) of an independently existing and developing external world. No other unchangeableness, no other entity, no other 'absolute substance' in the sense as such conceptions were so profusely and colorfully painted by the idle professorial philosophy, exists for Marx and Engels. The 'entity' of things or the 'substance' are *also* relative, they only express the deepening of human understanding of objects, and if yesterday this deepening did not go further than the atom, and today—no further than the electron and ether, then the dialectic materialism insists on the temporary, relative, approximate character of *all* these sign-posts of the extent of understanding of nature by the steadily progressing human science. The electron is just as *inexhaustible* as is the atom; nature is endless, but it also exists without end, and just this is the only categorical, the only unconditional recognition of its *existence* outside the consciousness and the senses of man, and which distinguishes dialectic materialism from relativist agnosticism and idealism."

And the recognition, alongside of this of the relativeness and approximateness of that picture of the world that we create on the basis of our knowledge, ever deepening, but never completed, not exhausting all the many-sidedness and the entire content of the objective world, the ability to grapple with flexible conceptions, and not to rest satisfied with results once obtained, all of this distinguishes dialectic materialism from a materialism that is metaphysical, mechanistic.

It is necessary to take note here of the fact that mechanistic materialism is basically the methodology of the right deviation. It supplies the theoretical basis and expression of the class interests of the last capitalist class in our country and represents therefore under our conditions the main danger on the theoretical front.

Under our conditions precisely the interests of the bourgeoisie are reflected in such anti-dialectic, anti-revolutionary theories, as for instance, the understanding of opposites merely as an external and not an inherent attribute of every phenomenon. Such a teaching supplies the theoretical basis for a denial of class contradictions, class struggle (of the proletariat), fortifies the preaching of class peace (of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie). A theory of the same order is the mechanistic theory of equilibrium, the teaching

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of the corelation of the surroundings with a given system. Such a teaching makes it possible to build up a theoretical basis for the theory of kulak nests growing into Socialism through cooperation. The "kulak system," according to the reasoning of the right wing theoreticians, must grow into the socialist "surroundings"; it would seem there are "scientific" reasons for thinking this can be done. It is quite clear how theoretically valuable such a theory is for the class that is now being entirely liquidated. This theory supplies the basis and justification for a right wing policy, according to which there is no need in general for disturbing the kulak.

Thus we see that the mechanistic world outlook is substantially bourgeois and anti-proletarian. It is generally characterized by an underestimation of theory, a lack of understanding of and a negative attitude toward dialectics. This theoretical nihilism, lack of understanding of the necessity of studying dialectic materialism results in an inability to defend materialist positions, in a surrender of those positions to idealism and, generally, in a complete subordination to bourgeois ideology. Mechanistic materialism proves itself helpless in the face of idealism, connives and cooperates with idealism.

On the other hand, there is also another danger: the danger of finding ourselves together with the idealists (with Hegel) in the realm of abstraction, out of touch with concrete reality, limiting ourselves to the dialectics of conceptions without taking due care to maintain the connection of conceptions with the development of the objective world, not deriving the categories from the material relationships of the objective world—in a word, the danger of going astray into the paths of idealism, forgetting the demands of materialism—to base everything on the things of that picture of the world which we create on the basis of our knoledge—the precise danger represented by the Menshevik idealism of the Deborn group which covers idealistic, anti-Marxist positions with Marxian phraseology and an apparent struggle for dialectic materialism.

Though socially not as deeply rooted with us as the mechanistic tendency, the Menshevik idealism nevertheless represents a serious menace. It acts as the carrier of bourgois influnces into the ranks of the proletariat, masquerading behind a cloak of orthodox Marxism.

The separation of theory and practice, the denial of the class character of philosophy, the professorial meditative "objectivism," the inability to understand Lenin as a materialist-dialectician, and to understand the Leninist stage of the development of dialectic materialism, the covering of anti-Marxist, idealistic conceptions with Marxist phraseology, bloated presumptiveness of a great "learnedness" not worth a cent, because there is no actual work, no positive study of the subject back of this apparent "learnedness"—these are

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some of the basic distinguishing features of certain representatives of this tendency which are characteristic of the entire school of Menshevik idealism.

The idealistic revision of Marxism carried out by the Menshevik idealism is clearly revealed by the fact that this tendency *identifies the materialist dialectics of Marx with the dialectics of Hegel.* This revision is thus basically of a Hegelian character.

The founders of scientific Communism pointed out the great importance of the study of the method of dialectic materialism. They indicated the way how to do this, namely: by a study of the history of philosophy and particularly of Hegel. In one of the prefaces to *Anti-During* (1878) Engels wrote, that:

> "Theoretical thinking is an inborn quality only in the sense of a potential capacity. It must be developed and perfected, but for such a task there exists no other means up until now except a study of the history of philosophy."—F. Engels: *The Dialectics of Nature.*

A study of the history of philosophy gives an acquaintance with the experience of scientific thought that has accumulated for more than 2,000 years of its development. And in the history of philosophy Engels recommended to pay particular attention to Hegel. About this Engels wrote, for instance, in letters to Konrad Schmidt. The task of studying Hegel is a very difficult one, one which requires help, and the notes of Marx, Engels and Lenin afford such help. (Particularly valuable are the *Philosophical Notebooks* that have already been mentioned above.)

The Menshevik idealism distorts the above mentioned theoretical conceptions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, identifies the logic of Hegel with the logic of Marx. But, as we have seen, the starting point of Hegel and that of Marx differ basically in principle on the question of the relationship between thought and existence.

In the article *Hegel and Dialectic Materialism* Deborin declares that:

> "The Hegelian logic must serve us as the starting point in the matter of developing or building up materialist dialectics."—Hegel: *Works;* Vol. I.

At the end of the same article the author comes to the following conclusion:

> "The need of the theory of materialistic dialectics has anyhow ripened long ago. Hegelian logic cannot fully satisfy that need but it can serve as the *starting point* for materialistic dialectics."—(*Ibid.*)

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It is not enough that this tendency considers Hegelian logic as the starting point, it even considers its structure as not in need of any basic reconstruction. Marx placed Hegelian logic on its feet from standing on its head, *i.e.*, he reconstructed it on a different principle basis. Deborin, however, declares that:

> "On the whole we must consider the Hegelian structure correct from the materialistic point of view."—(*Ibid.*)

The idealistic treatment of dialectics reveals itself not only in the matter of the starting point and the structure, but also in the understanding and the application of the very laws of dialectics. Let us take, for instance, the basic law of dialectics—the unity of opposites. Engels and Lenin considered that this law expresses the very essence, the "kernel" of dialectics, Lenin expressing himself as follows:

> "Unity (coincidence, identity, equilibrium) of opposites, is conditional, temporary, passing, relative. The conflict of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute."—*Leninski Sbornik*, No. XII, p. 324.

This law of dialectics according to Lenin's definition means:

> ". . . the recognition (discovery) of contradictory, mutually exclusive opposite endencies *in all* phenomena and processes of nature (*including the spirit and society*)."—(*Ibid*, page 323.)

Thus, from the point of view of Lenin (and Lenin expressed the point of view of dialectic materialism) the struggles of opposites is absolute, inherent in all phenomena of the external world.

Deborin treats this problem in a different manner. In the article *Marx and Hegel* (by the way, an exclusively idealistic rticle) he accepts the Hegelian idealistic scheme in its entirety, saying that at first there are *only* differences, which pass over into contradictions, and the latter into opposites. Thus Deborin assumes the possibility that at a certain stage the opposites and their struggle are absent. Contradiction therefore is not a starting point with him. Deborin is thus captured by the mechanists against whom he wrote so much but who similarly do not recognize opposites as absolutely inherent parts of every form of motion of matter.

We have already repeatedly noted as a basic distinguishing feature of the dialectic materialism of Marx that he considered practical revolutionary activity a matter of first importance. Marx criticized the meditative character of the materialism of the past. Deborin, in his preface to Volume I of the *Works of Hegel*, describing dialectic materialism, does not say a word about that question; on the contrary, he emphasizes there only the problems of a passive, meditative character.

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> "The dialectic . . . method considers its task to be not to add anything to the object, but rather to follow it, watch the course of development of the object itself. In this sense does the dialectic method reveal itself as the only scientific *objective method.* The dialectic method merely reconstructs the course of development of the object."—Hegel: *Works*; Vol. I.

Nowhere in the entire long article is a word said by the author about the most important part of materialist dialectics—about revolutionary practice. And this is not accidental.

One of the most clearly defined characteristic features that reveal the anti-proletarian substance of the Menshevik idealism is the lack of connection between theory and practice. In his speech at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League in October, 1920, Lenin pointed out that:

> "Without work, without struggle the book knowledge of Communism from communist pamphlets and works is worth exactly nothing because it would maintain the age-old rupture between theory and practice, that old rupture that was the most disgusting feature of the old bourgeois society."—Lenin: *Works*; Vol. 25, pages 385-386.

The break between theory and practice is characteristic for the Menshevik idealism. The representatives of this tendency busied themselves with philosophy without any connection with the problems of Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R., without connection with the international labor movement, tearing away philosophy from politics, not placing it at the service of the proletarian Party. It is not accidental that almost no one of the literary forces of that tendency cared to take up the struggle against Trotskyism, to disclose the methodological errors of the fractionalists that were carrying on a fight against the general line of the Party. Separating philosophy from proletarian Marxist-Leninist politics the Menshevik idealism places itself objectively in the service of bourgeois politics.

The entire approach of Menshevik idealism led unavoidably to a denial of the connection between theory and practice. This was clearly revealed by the entire activity of the representatives of that tendency. Their literary productions are mostly and predominantly a "labored effort at writing about somebody else's writings." [2]

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[2] This expression was used by Engels in one of his letters during the 80's in characterizing the social democratic literary personnel of the staff of the *Neue Zeit.* The majority of those writers were opportunists. "These people," wrote Engels, "who do not care to take up a serious principle study of anything and are merely piling up literature about literature and regarding literature (nine-tenths of contemporary German writing activity consists of writing about some other writings) will, of course, write in the course of a year many more printed pages than those who are assiduously

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Not one problem of historic materialism was worked on and solved by the Menshevik idealists on the basis of new experience of the revolutionary period. The very direct instruction of Lenin as to how to study dialectics was not fulfilled. Lenin pointed out in the article *On the Significance of Militant Materialism* that dialectics must be studied from a materialistic point of wiew, *i.e.*, it is necessary to study the kind of dialectics which Marx applied in practice both in his *Capital* and in his historical and political works, and also to study it in those examples of dialectics "in the realm of economic and political relationships in which the history of our times, particularly of contemporary imperialist war and revolution are unusually rich."

The representatives of the Menshevik idealist tendency were not capable of such a study. Their entire approach prevents this. It interfered with their ability to understand Lenin as a philosopher, evaluate and carry out his instructions. The idealistic, abstract, formalistic approach of this tendency, and their class position of petty bourgeois radicals was also in the way.

(*To be continued*)

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engaged in a serious study of something and in the first place, care to write about other books only in case they have mastered them, and in the second place, provided there is something there that is worth while to act on." This characterization fits very nicely the representatives of contemporary opportunistic, Menshevik idealism and is very timely in its applicability to the contemporary petty bourgeois radicals of the Trotsky type who are tryng to masquerade in the garb of orthodox Marxism.

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Armaments and Profits

By LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

THAT capitalists in all imperialist countries make profits out of the manufacture of armaments is a fact known to every worker. Just who these capitalists are and what profits they have made in past "preparedness" campaigns and past wars is sketched in the following memorandum.

Let us take first the Navy League, one of the organizations that carries on agitation for a big United States Navy and incidentally takes a part in all the "patriotic" attacks on the "subversive elements" in the United States, meaning the radical unions of the workers.

There were 19 on the list of the founders of the Navy League. Of these the majority were connected with firms and establishments which, through inter-locking directorates, connect in turn with manufacturers of war materials and things that go into war materials. A few of those who participated in the League from its origin were *Charles M. Schwab* (Bethlehem Steel Corp.); *B. F. Tracy*, (attorney for the Carnegie Steel Co. and the Harvey Steel Co.); *George Westinghouse* (connected with several industries which sell war materials to the government); *C. A. Griscom* (director of the U. S. Steel Corp., the Cramp Ship and Engine Building Co., and the Electric Boat Co.); *S. S. Palmer* (director of the Lackawanna Steel Co.); the late *J. P. Morgan* (organizer and director, U. S. Steel Corp.); *H. V. Satterlee* (corporation lawyer and brother-in-law of J. P. Morgan); *General Horace Porter* (for many years an officer of Pullman Co., a Morgan corporation); and *Col. Robert M. Thompson* (International Nickel Co.)

Another "founder" of the Navy League was not an individual but a corporation — the *Midvale Steel Co.* from which the United States Government had purchased, up to 1915, over $20,000,000 worth of armor plate alone, in addition to other supplies.

England also provides illustration of the relation of war firms to the capitalist government and the patriotic societies. The *Investors' Review* of London examined in 1909 the stockholders' lists of several British war-trafficking firms, and on the list of only one such firm (Armstrong, Whiteworth) found the names of 60 noblemen, their wives and daughters; 15 baronets; 20 knights; 8 members of Parliament; 20 military and naval officers, and 8 journalists.

Later lists revealed a marked connection between stockholding in

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armor and munition companies and active membership in "purely patriotic" organizations such as the British Navy League.

Some additional data follow:

The Bishops of Chester and Newcastle, both members of the National Service League and also stockholders in *Vickers Ltd.;* also true of the Bishops of Adelaide, Newport and Hexham. Other shareholders in the munitions firm of *Vickers Ltd*:

1. Dean Inge of St. Paul's.

2. Baron Kennaird, president, Y. M. C. A.

3. Sir Walter Runciman, now chairman of the British Board of Trade. The chairman of Armstrong, Whiteworth & Co. was given the order by a grateful government, of Commander Jesus Christ of Portugal.[1]

Yet this nationalism, whose economic base was pointed out above, is not so limited, so narrow-minded as one might suppose. There exists a community of interests, an international brotherhood in the armament trade which is worth while looking into.

The following companies comprised the *Harvey Steel Co.* of London which was ostensibly dissolved in 1912.

Great Britain: Vickers Ltd., Armstrong, Whiteworth & Co., John Brown & Co.

United States: Bethlehem Steel Co.

France: Schneider & Co. (largest arms manufacturer in France).

Italy: Two firms allied with Vickers Ltd. and Armstrong.

Germany: (a) A. G. der Dillinger Huettenwerke—owned by Deutsche Waffens and Muntions Fabrik, which also controlled the National Arms Factory at Heristal, Belgium. (b) Friedrich Krupp.

In 1897 a world agreement was entered into which provided that European and American armament producers should consult each other when making bids in one another's country. This information was used by the government in its suit against Du Pont.

Vickers, Ltd. had a yard in Placenta de las Armas, Spain, and one in Spezzia, Italy, including one-quarter of the shares of the Whitehead Torpedo Factory in Fiume (Austria),[2] "*building torpedoes to destroy the ships that Vickers are building now. So the shareholders can look forward with equanimity to whatever happens.* It is no matter to them whether it is an Austrian ship or a German ship or a British ship that sinks, they can throw up their hats and shout 'More ships, more profits, more dividends.' "

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[2] Philip Snowden, M.P., *Dreadnoughts and Dividends*, World Peace Foundation.

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[1] Data until here from Rep. Tavenner of Illinois, *Congressional Record*, Volume 52.

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For those who think that world-wide connections have been severed since the war, the following throws some light on this matter. This chart[3] shows the international inter-relation of the German chemical industry, with special reference to the I. G. Dye Co.

A. Dye materials and auxiliaries (i. e., poison gas) associated with:

1. Grasselli Dyestuffs Corp., Cleveland, O., United States.
2. Fabricacion Nacional de Colorantes y Explosivos, Madrid, Spain, (50%).
3. Soc. Chem. Lombarda, A. E. Bianchi e Co., Milan, Italy.

B. Manufacture of poison gas and dynamite associated with:

1. Norsk Hydro-Elektrsk Kvaelstof A. S.
2. Alfred Nobel & Co. (financial connections with Ullbrich & Co., near Innsbruck, Austria.)

Among more recent indictment against the bloody internationalists:

> "In the summer of 1928 a Polish machine-gun plant was set up on the premises of a bankrupt auto factory near Warsaw. The Ludwig Lowe Co. of Berlin (one of the most powerful firms in Germany that manufacture machine tools, rifles, ammunition) furnished the necessary machinery, the Allegemeine Elektrizitaets Gesellschaft supplied the power, the raw steel came out of the Saar from Mannesman. The shares of at least 50% are in the hands of Skoda (one of the largest arms factories of Europe, located in Czechoslovakia) the rest being held by the Polish government by high officials. Furthermore, according to statistics issued by the League of Nations, 1924, regarding trade in arms, Germany had *exported to Poland war material valued at* 3,043,000 *marks. This in view of the hostile feelings in both countries over Silesia, Polish Corridor, etc. . . .*"

The most damning indictment of all, however, is found in the incidents listed below[4] which expose the shocking brutality of the war mongers, whose every coin is stained with blood.

On April 23, 1913, the German deputy of the Central Party, Erzberger, declared in the Reichstag:

> "1. Before the war there existed an international shell cartel including the Nobel Dynamite Trust in London, with 7 English branches, 3 in Germany and 1 in Japan.
>
> "2. Krupp was a partner in the Austrian Skoda Works, and the Putilov (Russian), thus linking Krupp up with Schneider-Creusot of France, also interested in Putilov."

The Thyssen firm sold infantry shells to Holland near the end of the war for 68 marks and to the German Commissary Department for 117 marks.

[3] *War for Profits*, Otto Lehmann-Russbuldt, published by A. H. King.

[4] *War for Profits*, op. cit.

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At the battle of Skaggerak, the British fleet used gunsights that six months earlier the Zeiss Co. of Jena and the Goerz-Auschuetz Co., had delivered to a Dutch concern.

German soldiers at Douamount found themselves entangled in barbed wire which the Magdeburg Wire and Cable Works had exported to Switzerland only two months before.

Since Skoda had established a steel smelter for the repair of artillery in St. Petersburg, Austrian soldiers on the Galician front were mowed down by guns repaired through the efforts of their own countrymen.

In Liege, Brussels and Lille, subsidiary arms companies were supplying German machines to Belgium, France and Italy. In fact fines were imposed during the war on German firms for selling munitions to other countries.

The Modern Mine at Bethune whose shares were for the most part in the hands of the great German industrialist, August Thyssen, was not fired upon, whereas the whole of the surrounding area was levelled to the ground.

Many a German soldier gave his life in Flanders, killed by a British grenade set off by a fuse produced by Vickers after a patent sold to this firm by Krupp. After the war, Krupp sued Vickers for the payment of one shilling per grenade fuse, urging its patent rights. The total amounted to 123 million shillings.

On November 11, 1919, the very day of the Armistice, a representative of the German Chemical Trust signed an agreement with the French Ministry of War, declaring itself most willing "to furnish the necessary facilities for the purpose of manufacturing," and to take charge of the construction of a rival factory in France or in the French colonies within the next 15 years. The compensation to be paid depending on the number of poison gas factories built in France with German aid. The agreement became a law, April 11, 1924.

A poison gas catastrophe took place in Hamburg, Germany, May 20, 1928. This was excused by a French expert on the ground that this phosgene (a deadly gas used in the early part of the war) was a dyestuff and did not come under the Versailles Treaty.

Vickers Ltd. guns killed English soldiers in the Gallipoli campaign.

Alfred Krupp, German munitions maker, is a member of the French Legion of Honor.

Krupp sold cannons to Allied countries who turned them against German soldiers and mowed them down.

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Alfred Nobel, founder of the Nobel Peace Prize, made his fortune in dynamite.

No explanation is necessary. The facts are too horrible and too obvious to need elaboration.

War scares are a favorite method for getting increased armament orders and liberal use is made of them.

A certain Mr. Mueliner, a director of the Coventry Ordnance Works came to the House of Commons in 1909 with a story of the acceleration of the German naval program. A cry went up "we want eight and we won't wait" (meaning eight battleships), and here is what happened to the profits of three British war firms:

Vickers, Ltd., 1908, 424,000 pounds; 1909, 474,000; 1910, 544,000; 1911, 745,000; 1912, 872,000.

Armstrong, 1909, 429,000 pounds, 1912, 777,000 pounds.

Messrs. Beardmore, 1909, 72,000 pounds; 1911, 201,000 ponds, a 3-fold increase.

> "Deutsche Waffen und Munitions Fabrik,[6] a German ammunition firm, desiring to obtain an order for machine guns which the Reichstag did not seem disposed to agree to, sought to obtain the insertion of a news item in *Figaro*, one of the great dailies in Paris, to the effect that France was doubling the output of its machine guns. It can readily be conceived how *such a clipping from a leading French newspaper would be an effective exhibit to accompany a request to the Reichstag for an order for more machine guns for Germany. Such is armor-plate patriotism.*"

One of the most active agents of the armament companies in the United States was W. B. Shearer, hired to carry on big navy propaganda and prevent any reduction in armaments at the Geneva Arms Conference in 1927. His employers, it was brought out officially, were the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp., the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., and the American Brown Boveri Co. He cooperated with the publicity committee of the Republican Party, with the American Legion, and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Later, in 1931, it was shown that Shearer had likewise been the propaganda agent working for the development of Montauk Point, Long Island, as a shipping port. It so happened that Congressman Britten, one of the leading chauvinists in Washington, had an interest in the real estate company pushing the development of Montauk Point. Britten had the navy carry on some maneuvers there in order to popularize the place and improve its real estate values.

[6]Rep. Tavenner, Congressional Record, Vol. 52. *War for Profits*, Rumbuldt, op. cit.

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Up until 1915 there had already been nine official estimates as to the actual cost of manufacturing *armor plate*. The average estimate amounted to $247 a ton, yet the armor ring (Bethlehem, Midvale, and Carnegie) was paid an average of $440 a ton.

Du Pont sold $25,000,000 worth of *powder* to the government from 1905 to 1915 at a price ranging all the way from 53c to 80c a pound. In government plants, the officers in charge stated that it was produced for 36 cents and with greater quantities even more economies could be effected.

In 1913 the war department purchased 7,000 4.7 inch shrapnel from the ammunition ring, paying for it $25.26 each. At the same time the same shrapnel at $15.45 was produced at the government-owned Frankford arsenal. In spite of these proofs of profiteering, when Admiral Twyming for the Navy and Gen. Crozier for the Army, appeared before the Appropriations Committee in 1912, they practically stated that it was the policy of the government to discourage any concern from trying to enter the powder field in competition with the Trust (Du Pont). Admiral Twyming said:

> "I think it distinctly to the advantage of the government to have all the powder . . . made by one company. I do not mean by that, that I think that company should be the Du Pont Co., but since that is the company in the business, I believe it is better for the government to get the powder from them, rather than encourage others to come into the business."[6]

The World War pushed America into the position of the foremost creditor nation. Perhaps if the United States soldiers who went forth to die for their country on foreign battlefields, if the remaining population which suffered so much heartache and privation under the rations system, knew who gained from all this, they would have done differently. For, while millions were dying on all fronts, profits piled up unbelievably high, for all firms engaged in supplying the forces with war materials. From a deficit of almost $300,000 in 1914, Anaconda Copper came out in 1916 with a surplus of 33 million dollars. Bethlehem Steel's income rose from $9,000,000 in 1914 to $57,000,000 four years later, declaring a 200% dividend on Class B Common stock in 1917. During the same period the surplus of U. S. Steel climbed from $143,000,000 to $518,000,000. In France, Schneider-Creusot raised dividends from 80 in 1912 to 120 in 1918. The dividend rates of Vickers and Armstrong in England showed a steady increase.

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[6]Data taken from Rep. Tavenner of Illinois in the House of Representatives, February 15, 1915.

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Here is a typical dividend record for the war and post-war period, the percentages including both the regular and extra dividends handed to the parasites who owned stock of the *Hercules Powder Co.* of Delaware. A part of the big extra dividends in 1916 and 1917 were in gilt edge Anglo-French bonds, which the United States entered the war to save.

Year	*Dividend (per cent)*	*Year*	*Dividend (per cent)*
1914	8	1919	16
1915	16	1920	16
1916	95	1921	12
1917	62½	1922	6
1918	17		

But in this year, 1922, this company, like many other American corporations still rolling up huge profits—in spite of the crisis that brought misery and unemployment to the workers in 1921—declared a stock dividend of 100!

In capitalist industry, as in war, profits stand high above everything else including human life, in a system where the dollar rules. Look behind the scenes of any patriotic organization and you see war finance pulling the strings. International solidarity and war scares, anything that will keep gold flowing into the coffers in one ceaseless stream.

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"Disarmament"

By V. I. LENIN

(*This article was written by Lenin in October*, 1916, *and first published in the* Collection from the Social Democrat *of December*, 1916.)

IN a number of countries, especially small countries standing aside from the present war, *e.g.*, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, voices are being raised in favor of replacing the old point in the social-democratic minimum program of a "militia" or an "armed people" by a new one, *viz.*, "disarmament."

Let us examine the position of the defenders of disarmament.

I

One of the fundamental arguments in favor of disarmament is the not always directly expressed attitude: we are against war, generally speaking against every war, and the most definite clear and unambiguous expression of this view of ours is the demand for disarmament.

We dwelt on the incorrectness of this view in the article on the pamphlet of *Junius*, to which we refer the reader. Socialists cannot be against every war without ceasing to be socialists. One must not allow one's self to be blinded by the present imperialist war. During the imperialist epoch, precisely these wars between the "great" powers are typical, but it is by no means impossible for these to be also democratic wars and insurrections, *e.g.*, of oppressed nations against those oppressing them, for emancipation from oppression. Civil wars of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for Socialism are inevitable. There are also possible wars of victorious Socialism in one country against other bourgeois or reactionary countries.

Disarmament is a socialist ideal. In socialist society, there will be no wars, consequently disarmament will be realized. But he is no socialist who expects the realization of Socialism *along side of* the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dictatorship is State power relying immediately on *force*, and force in the twentieth century—as generally in the epoch of civilization—is not a fist or cudgel but the *army*. To put "disarmament" as a point in the program means to say in general: we are against

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the use of weapons. In this there is not a particle of Marxism, any more than if we said: "we are against the use of force!"

The Kautskian preaching of "disarmament," addressed directly to the present governments of the big imperialist powers, is the most vulgar opportunism and bourgeois pacifism, serving *in fact* —in spite of the "good intentions" of the sweet-spoken Kautskians —to draw the workers away from revolutionary struggle. For, by such preaching, the idea is instilled into the workers that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist powers are not enmeshed by thousands of threads of finance-capital and by scores or hundreds of corresponding (*i.e.*, robbing, plundering, and preparing imperialist war) *secret treaties* among themselves.

II

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to handle weapons, to possess weapons, would only deserve that it should be treated as slaves. We may not forget, without becoming converted into bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society and that there is not and cannot be any way out from that except by class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class.

In every class society—whether based on slavery, serfdom or, as now, on wage labor—the oppressing class is an armed class. Not only the existing standing armies, but also the existing militias—even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, like Switzerland—represent the arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. This is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary specially to dwell upon it. It is sufficient to recall the employment of troops (the republican-democratic militia included) against strikers, an occurrence common, without exception, to all capitalist countries. The arming of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the most dominating, basic and important facts of contemporary capitalist society.

And in the face of such a fact, the proposal is made to revolutionary social-democrats that they put forward the "demand" for disarmament"! This is equivalent to complete surrender of the point of view of class struggle, renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat in order to conquer, to expropriate and to disarm the bourgeoisie. This is the sole possible tactics for a revolutionary class, tactics arising from the whole *objective development* of capitalist militarism and prescribed by this development. Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie, can it, without being untrue to its world-historical task, throw on to the scrap heap all weapons in general,

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and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only then and by no means earlier.

If the present war evokes among the reactionary christian socialists and among the snivelling petty-bourgeoisie *only* terror and fright, only revulsion against any employment of weapons, against blood, death, etc., then we must say capitalist society was and always is *horror without end*. And if the present most reactionary of all wars is preparing for this society *an end to the horror*, then we have no cause for despair. In its objective significance, the "demand" for disarmament—rather, the dream of disarmament—is nothing other than the very expression of despair, at a time when before our eyes, through all the forces of the bourgeoisie itself, there is being prepared the sole rightful and revolutionary war, *viz.*, civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

If anyone says that this is a theory divorced from the facts of life, we would recall to him two world-historical facts: the role of the trusts and of factory labor of women, on the one hand, and the Commune of 1871 and the December insurrection in Russia in 1905, on the other hand.

It is the business of the bourgeoisie to develop trusts, to drive women and children into the factories, to torture them there, to demoralize, to condemn to extreme want. We do not "demand" such a development, we do not "support" it, we fight against it. But *how* do we fight? We do not want to go back to hand labor, to pre-monopolist capitalism, to domestic labor of women. Forward, through the trusts and the rest, and beyond them to Socialism!

This estimation, taking into account the *objective course* of development, is, with appropriate alterations, applicable also to the militarization of the nation. Today, the imperialist bourgeoisie militarizes not only the whole people, but also the youth. Tomorrow it will advance, maybe, to the militarization of women. We must say on this: so much the better, go ahead quicker! The quicker, the nearer we are to the armed rising against capitalism. How can the social-democrats allow themselves to be frightened at the militarization of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Commune? This is no theory "divorced from life," no dream, but a fact. And it would in fact be very sad if social-democrats, in spite of all economic and political facts, began to doubt that the imperialist epoch and the imperialist wars must inevitably lead to a repetition of such facts.

A bourgeois eye-witness of the Commune wrote in May, 1871, in an English newspaper: "If the French nation consisted only of women, what a terrible nation it would be then." Women

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and thirteen-year-old children were fighting during the Commune side by side with the men. It cannot be otherwise also in the future battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively to see how well the armed bourgeoisie shoots down badly-armed or unarmed workers. They will lay hold of weapons, as in 1871, and from the present intimidated nations—more correctly, from the present labor movement, disorganized more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international union of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

Militarization is now penetrating the whole of social life. Imperialism is an embittered struggle of the big powers for division and re-division of the world—it must, therefore, inevitably lead to further militarization in all countries, including the neutral and small countries. What will the proletarian women do against this? Will they only curse every war and everything pertaining to war, only demand disarmament? Never will women of an oppressed class, which is a really revolutionary class, reconcile themselves to such a shameful role. They will say to their sons:

You will soon grow big. They will put a gun in your hands. Take it and study thoroughly the art of war. This knowledge is essential for proletarians—not in order to fire on their brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war and as the traitors to Socialism will counsel you to do—but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of their own country, in order to put an end to exploitation, poverty and wars, not by means of pious wishes but by means of victory over the bourgeoisie and by disarming it.

If one refrains from conducting such propaganda, and precisely such propaganda in connection with the present war, then it would be better not to utter at all big phrases about international revolutionary social-democracy, about the socialist revolution and war against war.

III

The supporters of disarmament come out against the point in the program concerning the "armed nations," among other reasons because this last demand is considered by them to lead more easily to surrender to opportunsm. We have examined above the important point: the relation of disarmament and class struggle to the social revolution. Let us examine now the question of the relation of the demand for disarmament to opportunism. One of the most important reasons for the inadmissibility of this demand is

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precisely because it, and the illusions to which it gives rise, inevitably weaken and cripple our struggle with opportunism.

There is no doubt that this struggle is the chief current task of the International. The fight against imperialism, not indissolubly connected with the fight against opportunism, is an empty phrase or delusion. One of the chief defects of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, of the basic causes of the possible fiasco, non-success or collapse of these germs of the Third International, consisted precisely in that this question of the struggle against opportunism was not already formulated openly, not to speak of its solution in the sense of the necessity for a break with the opportunists. Opportunism has conquered—for a time—within the European labor movement. In all the largest countries there have developed two chief varieties of opportunism: firstly, the undisguised, cynical and consequently less dangerous social-imperialism of Messrs. Plekhanov, Scheidemann, Legien, Albert Thomas, Vendervelds, Hyndman, Henderson, etc., secondly, the disguised Kautskian type—Kautsky, Haase and the "social-democratic labor group" in Germany; Longuet, Pressmann, etc., in France; Ramsay MacDonald and other leaders of the I. L. P. in Britain; Martov, Chkheidze, etc., In Russia; Treves and the so-called left reformists in Italy.

Open opportunism is openly and directly against revolution, against the incipient revolutionary movements and outbursts, and in direct union with the governments, whatever the various forms of this union, extending from participation in ministries to participation in industrial war committees. The disguised opportunists, the Kautskians, are much more pernicious and dangerous for the labor movement, because they conceal their association with the first with the aid of blessed-sounding quasi-Marxist phrases and pacifist slogans. The struggle against both these forms of prevailing opportunism must be carried on in *all* fields of proletarian policy—parliamentarism, trade unions, strikes, war, etc.

In what consists the chief peculiarity characterizing *both* these forms of prevailing opportunism? It consists in being silent about, covering up or treating with an eye on police prohibitions, the concrete question of *the connection of the present war with revolution and other concrete questions of revolution.* And this happens in spite of the fact that, before the war, attention was drawn on innumerable occasions, both unofficially and officially, to the Basle manifesto, to the connection precisely between *this* coming war and the proletarian revolution.

Thus, the chief defect of the demand for disarmament is exactly that it evades all the concrete questions of revolution. Or do the supporters of disarmament stand for a completely new view of an unarmed revolution?

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IV

Further, we are in no way against the struggle for reforms. We do not desire to ignore the unfortunate possibility that mankind may experience—if the worst comes to the worst—still a second imperialist war, if revolution does not spring from the present war, in spite of the innumerable outbursts of mass unrest and mass discontent and in spite of our efforts. We are supporters of that program of reform which *also* has to be directed against the opportunists. The opportunists would be only too delighted if we were to leave entirely to them the struggle for reforms and ourselves retired to some region beyond the clouds of so-called "disarmament" in headlong flight from sad realities. "Disarmament" is precisely a flight from nasty reality but not at all a struggle against it.

In passing, it may be noted that one of the biggest defects in the formulation of the question, *e.g.*, concerning defense of the Fatherland, among certain "lefts," consists in inadequate concreteness in the answer. It is much truer practically, and immeasurably more important theoretically, to say that in the *present* imperialist war defense of the Fatherland is a bourgeois reactionary delusion, than to advance a "general" proposition against "every" defense of the Fatherland. It is not true and it does not "hit" the immediate enemy of the workers inside the workers' parties: the opportunists.

On the question of the militia, we ought to have said, working out the concrete and practically necessary answer: "we are not for a bourgeois militia, but only for a proletarian one." Consequently, we say: "not a man, not a farthing," not only for the standing army but also for the bourgeois militia, even in such centers as the U. S. A. or Switzerland, Norway, etc. The more so, since we see even in the most free republican countries (*e.g.*, Switzerland) the militia more and more Prussianized and its prostitution for mobilization of troops against strikers. We can demand election of officers by the people, equality of rights between native and foreign-born workers (a specially important point for those imperialist states, which, like Switzerland, exploit foreign-born workers in even greater numbers and even more shamelessly, leaving them deprived of rights), and, further, the right, let us say, of every hundred inhabitants of a given country to establish free associations for study of all military matters, with free election of instructors, whose labor is to be paid for from the state exchequer, etc. Only under such conditions can the proletariat study the science of war *for itself* and not for its slave-owners, and, indeed, the interests of the proletariat unconditionally demand such study.

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The Russian Revolution (1905) showed that every, even partial, success of the revolutionary movement, *e.g.*, the conquest of a certain town, factory, settlement, or portion of the army, inevitably *compels* the victorious proletariat to realize precisely such a program.

Finally, it is, of course, impossible to fight opportunism by means of programs alone, but only by means of undeviating attention that they are actually carried into effect. The most enormous and fatal blunder of the bankrupt Second International consisted in the fact that its actions did not correspond with its words, that it encouraged the custom of shameless revolutionary phrase-making (*e.g.*, the present attitude of Kautsky and Company, to the Basle manifesto).

Approaching the demand for disarmament from this side, we must first of all put the question of its *objective* significance. Disarmament, as a social idea, *i.e.*, one which is engendered in a definite social situation and can act on a definite social environment, and does not remain the fancy of a person or sect, arose in "tranquil" conditions of life, obviously special in the sense of their exceptional character, among various petty states which for a fairly long time have stood on one side from the bloody world path of war, and which hope to remain thus on one side. In order to be convinced of this, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the argument of the Norwegian supporters of disarmament: "We are a little country, our armed forces are small, we can do nothing against the big powers" (and, consequently, they are equally powerless to resist being forcibly drawn into imperialist association with one group or the other of the big powers!), "we want to remain in peace in our little retired corner and continue to carry on a policy suitable to such a position, to demand disarmament, compulsory arbitration courts, permanent neutrality, etc." ("Permanent" must be like Belgium?)

The petty endeavor of small states to remain on one side, the petty-bourgeois wish to remain as far removed as possible from the great struggles of world history, to utilize their relatively monopolist position in order to remain in sickly passivity—this is the *objective* social circumstance which can guarantee the idea of disarmament a certain popularity and a certain distribution among some of the small states. Naturally, this endeavor is reactionary and rests entirely on illusions, for imperialism in one way or another drags the small states into the maelstrom of world economy and world politics.

Let us explain this by the example of Switzerland. Its imperialist position prescribes in its case *two* courses for the labor move-

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ment. The opportunists strive for union with the bourgeoisie in order to make Switzerland a republican-democratic monopolist union for receiving profit from the tourists of the imperialist bourgeoisie and in order to utilize its "tranquil" monopolist position as profitably and as peacefully as possible. In actuality, this policy is a policy of union of a small privileged stratum of the workers, in a small country which is in a privileged position, with the bourgeoisie of its country *against* the mass of the proletariat. The true social-democrats of Switzerland endeavor to utilize the comparative freedom of Switzerland, its "international" position (proximity to the most highly cultured countries), and further, the circumstance that Switzerland, thank god, does not speak its "own independent language," but three world languages, in order to extend, deepen and consolidate the *revolutionary* union of the revolutionary elements of the proletariat of the whole of Europe. "Let us help our bourgeoisie to keep as long as possible in a monopolist position the supremely tranquil trade in the charms of the Alps, and, who knows, perhaps a few pence will also come our way?"—this is the *objective* content of the policy of the Swiss opportunists. "Let us help the alliance of the revolutionary proletariat of the French, Germans and Italians for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie"—this is the *objective* content of the policy of the revolutionary social-democrats. Unfortunately, this policy is still conducted, far from adequately, by the "lefts" in Switzerland, and the fine decision of the Party congress at Aarau in 1915 (the recognition of revolutionary mass struggle) remains for the most part on paper. This however, is not the matter under discussion at the moment.

The question immediately interesting us stands as follows: Does demand for disarmament correspond to the revolutionary direction of the Swiss social-democrats? Obviously not. Objectively, the "demand" for disarmament corresponds to the opportunist narrow national line of the labor movement, which is limited by the horizon of a small state. Objectively, "disarmament" is the most absolutely and specifically national program of the small states and in no wise an international program of international revolutionary social-democracy.

P. S.: In the last issue of the *English Socialist Review* (September, 1916), the organ of the opportunist "Independent Labor Party," we observe on page 287 a resolution of the Newcastle Conference of this party: "Abstention from support of *any war whatever, by whatever* government it is waged, even if it is 'nominally' a 'defensive' war." And, on page 206, we encounter the following declaration in a leading article:

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> "We do not approve of the rising of the Sinn-Feiners. (The Irish insurrection of 1916.) We do not approve of any kind of armed rising, just as we do not approve of any form of militarism or war."

Is it necessary to prove that *these* "anti-militarists," *this kind of* supporters of disarmament, not in a small, but in a great power, are the most pernicious opportunists? Indeed, theoretically, they are entirely correct when they regard an armed rising as also "one of the forms" of militarism and war.

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The Tasks of the Communist Sections Regarding Municipal Policy

Due to the great number of municipal elections taking place this year and also to the coming presidential election we are reprinting below the resolution on municipal policy adopted by the Enlarged Presidium of the E.C.C.I., February, 1930.—EDITORS.

1. Municipal work is a field in which the Communist Parties must strengthen their contacts with wide masses of workers. In view of the growing capitalist contradictions, the maturing general economic crisis, the enormous growth of unemployment, the rapid fascization of the bourgeois State apparatus, the capitalist offensive against wide sections of the working class and sections of the non-proletarian population in the field of municipal politics as well as in other fields, and the growing activity of the masses—a correct Communist municipal policy can and must be made to serve as a lever for the mobilization of the population from the influence of bourgeois parties, of fascism and social fascism.

While in all other fields of activity (especially in the trade union field) the Communist Sections have already begun to alter their tactics to correspond with the new stage in the class struggle, as far as municipal activity is concerned, however, *hardly any of the Sections of the C.I. have brought about the change, nor, in the majority of cases, have they even begun to introduce it. More than that,* the municipal activity of the C.I. Sections bears the imprint of opportunism in practice such as voting for municipal and police budgets, blocs with bourgeois parties (Czecho-Slovakia, France, etc.), unprincipled subordination to bourgeois law and order, opportunist practice frequently degenerating into actual corruption (Gaebel—Degner case in Berlin), and in all Sections of the C.I. provides a refuge for opportunist elements. *To bring about a decisive change in municipal activity is one of the most important general political tasks of the Sections of the C. I.*

2. This decisive change in municipal activity presupposes a *breach with social democratic traditions regarding the role of municipalities* in the bourgeois State.

"The task of the proletariat is to *break up* the State apparatus of of the bourgeoisie, to destroy it, and with it also all parliamentary

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institutions, whether republican or constitutional-monarchist.

The same applies to bourgeois municipal institutions, and it would be wrong theoretically to draw a distinction between them and other organs of the State. They are, in fact, part and parcel of the bourgeois State which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local workers' councils." (Resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International: *The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism.*"

Consequently, it is wrong to demand that the bourgeois State power should concede "*complete* administrative and financial autonomy to the municipalities." (France.) To demand the extension of the right of self-government in accordance with the interests of the workers and peasants, or "election of municipal officials" (Finland) can only foster the democratic illusions of the masses. Municipalities as such cannot serve as an "instrument of proletarian class struggle" (Denmark).

3. Communists repudiate the attempts of the opportunists to draw a distinction in principle between private and State capitalist enterprises and municipal enterprises. The same methods of capitalist exploitation are employed in municipal enterprises as are employed in private enterprises. With the fascization of the capitalist State and municipal apparatus, municipal enterprises more and more become strongholds of fascism and social-fascism. Communists cannot demand "workers' control over municipal enterprises"; they can neither advance not support the slogan of "municipalization of public utilities" (which, however, does not preclude Communists from voting against the transferring of municipal enterprises to private capital, provided they make it clear that a genuine struggle against the monopolist aspirations of the bourgeoisie can be carried on only in the form of a revolutionary struggle).

4. The change of tactics in the municipal field calls for ruthless struggle against opportunism in municipal practice of the Parties, first and foremost, the complete cessation of all cooperation whatsoever with the Social Democratic Party. Communists must not enter into election alliances either with the social-democrats, or with other bourgeois parties. They must not vote for social-democratic mayors, town councillors, chairman of town councils, etc. Working class majorities in municipal councils can be said to exist only where Communists alone, or workers and peasants pledged to work on the Communist platform and under Communist leadership have a majority.

5. The general line of the Communist Party in municipal work is to mobilize the toilers, primarily the working men and women

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employed in industry for a revolutionary struggle against the prevailing capitalist system.

> "Where the Communists secure a majority in municipal councils, they must (a) form a revolutionary opposition to the bourgeois central authority; (b) do everything in their power to be of service to the poorest sections of the population (economic measures, organization or attempt at organization of an armed workers' militia, etc.); (c) to take advantage of every opportunity to show how the bourgeois State authority puts obstacles in the way of every really important reform; (d) to utilize this for strenuous revolutionary propaganda, not shrinking from conflicts with the State authority; (e) under certain circumstances (in an acutely revolutionary situation) to replace the local self-government organs by local workers' councils. Thus, the work of the Communists on municipal bodies must form part of their work for the disintegration of the capitalist State." (Resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International. *The Communist Parties and Parliamentarism.*

The Communists must use the municipal, as they do the parliamentary bodies as a platform for mobilizing the masses for the revolutionary struggle.

The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. places on record that the Communist Parties have made very little use of the municipal platform for the organization of the mass struggle against the capitalist offensive and fascist reaction. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the Communist fractions on town councils have shown inadmissible passivity during the political campaigns of the Party and during mass movements in general.

In every campaign the Party carries on—against the war danger, against fascist and social-fascist terror, against mass dismissals, for for carrying on economic or political strikes, etc., the municipal platform must be utilized for the purpose of explaining to the masses the Party slogans, to mobilize them for supporting the Party campaigns. Municipal councillors must at the same time be the principal Party agitators, the initiators in calling mass meetings, where they, as representatives of the workers, must show the connection between the class struggle in the country and the struggle around municipal questions in the given locality.

Especially in periods of illegality municipal posts must be used for continuing Party work.

In municipal election campaigns, Communists must put forward before the masses an extensive programme of partial demands, but they must not put forward such partial demands as are likely to foster democratic illusions among the masses.

Every Communist Party must draw up a programme of action

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of its own around which it must mobilize the workers. In this municipal programme, attention must be drawn first of all to the following partial demands:

(a) To lead the struggle of the workers against fascism of all shades, to organize proletarian self-defense corps in opposition to the fascist and social-fascist shock troops, etc.

(b) Sytematic campaign against imperialist war and all war measures against the U.S.S.R., against billeting (of soldiers) and against the municipalities rendering assistance in recruiting: to establish connections with working class and peasant soldiers and sailors outside as well as within the given municipal area (by the system of "patronage") and to support their struggles against the drill sergeant regime.

(c) To render assistance to the workers in their political and economic struggles by making grants to strike funds, giving financial support to strikers and locked out workers, organization of free meals for strikers and their families, playgrounds, kindergartens and creches for all workers' children, etc.

(d) Wide support for unemployed, by exempting them from payment for municipal services, special grants for their support, the money for this purpose to be raised by increasing the taxes of the bourgeoisie, exemption of unemployed from paying rent to big house owners; organization of public works for the purpose of providing employment such as hospitals, workmen's dwellings, etc., wages to be paid at not less than the customary rates in the given industry.

(e) It is particularly important to exert every effort on municipal councils to enforce the class principle in municipal taxation, *i.e.*, to raise the taxes of the propertied classes, especially of the wealthiest stratum, to reduce the share of taxes to be paid by the workers and other toilers, to completely exempt low paid workers and the disabled from taxation, etc. In this connection, revolutionary workers' representatives should not shrink from disregarding bourgeois laws and regulations.

(f) Introduction of the 7-hour day and one-month annual leave for all workers (manual and non-manual) employed in municipal enterprises, four months' leave in connection with pregnancy, payment of all social insurance contributions from municipal funds.

(g) Support for workers' mass organizations, cultural and educational organizations, sport leagues, freethinkers, etc.; support for

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proletarian organizations like the I. R. A., and W. I. R., by the municipality affiliating to the organizations.

(h) In countries where there are national minorities, an energetic struggle must be carried on against any oppression of these national minorities, for the right of these national minorities to employ their own language in the conduct of the business of municipal institutions, for officially recognized schools where all subjects are taught in the language of the national minorities without control by priests and other reactionaries, and for the establishment of educational institutions capable of satisfying the political and cultural requirements of the national minorities.

(i) To fight for the provision of facilities and equipment to serve the cultural requirements of young men and women workers, to fight against all institutions which corrupt the minds of the working class youth.

(j) To establish fraternal relations with municipal councils in the Soviet Union; to send delegates to the Soviet Union to study the working of the Five Year Plan and Socialist construction; to expose the slanders spread about the Soviet Union by the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists.

(k) These general principles of Communist municipal policy must be supplemented by suitable demands for women workers, workingmen's wives, agricultural laborers and poor peasants (prohibition of distraint, free use of meadows and forests, remission of taxes for all persons in poor circumstances, poor lower middle class) etc. These demands must be adapted to the concrete conditions prevailing in the particular country and municipality.

6. The *municipal programme* of the Sections of the C. I. must be so constructed that, firstly, it will contain concrete immediate demands, which can be understood by the broad masses and will mobilize them for the struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party; secondly, that the programme should continue to be sharply directed against unprincipled adaptations to bourgeois legality, and thirdly, these partial demands must be linked up with those basic demands which the Communist Party, as the Party of the working class, will carry out after it has seized power. It must be systematically explained to the workers and other oppressed strata of the population that the achievement of one or two partial demands cannot greatly improve their position.

In the midst of the rapidly rising revolutionary tide, when growing masses of workers are realizing that there is no other way out of the threatening catastrophe than the proletarian revolution, one

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of the most important tasks of the Communist Parties is to popularize the municipal policy of the U.S.S.R. and its results (expropriation of the landlords and capitalists), deprivation of the propertied class of the right to participate in municipal activity; transference of the houses of the bourgeoisie to the workers, the class principle in taxation policy, preference to working class districts in connection with all municipal improvements and works, extensive assistance for the unemployed, free education, utilization by the workers of cultural institutions, which were formerly the privilege of the bourgeosie.

7. The activities of Communist municipal functionaries must conform to the above-mentioned tasks. Hitherto however, the keynote of their activity has been, as a rule, unprincipled subordination to bourgeois laws and regulations, and frequently, concern for the preservation of their, in most cases, well-paid posts.

In all municipal councils where the Communists have a majority, they must fight for the application of the Party's municipal programme, not hesitating to come into conflict with the government. Such conflicts, the inevitability of which must be clearly recognized by the Communist Parties, must be used by our Parties to expose before the masses the reactionary character of the capitalist government system, and for mobilizing the broad masses (demonstrations, protest strikes, etc.) in defense of the activity of Communist town councils.

8. One of the principal defects in the municipal work of the Communist Parties has been their inadequate connection with the current actions and slogans of the Party, their isolation from mass work, especially from work in the factories. Municipal demands are generally drawn up "from above" without discussion at workers' meetings. Communists must link up the proposals of their municipal fractions with their factory agitation, must bring them up for discussion at factory meetings, unemployed meetings, as well as at the meetings of the mass organizations. The municipal functionaries must report on their activity at similar meetings. Only such a radical change in our municipal work on these lines can bring Communists into close contact with the masses. The masses must undertake control over the activities of Communist munipical fractions and municipal representatives. For this purpose factory, trade union, and unemployed, etc., meetings must be organized before every important action that is to be taken up in the municipal councils. All the chief municipal demands must be included in the election platform of the trade union opposition. The factory newspapers must give systematic publicity to the activity of the Communist fractions in the town council and also its struggle with the

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bourgeois—social-democratic bloc. Various Communist councillors must be attached to large factories, unemployed committees and mass organizations. On the other hand, the workers in large enterprises, unemployed committees and mass organizations must elect delegates and attach them as advisers to the municipal fractions. Mass work organized in this manner, continuous self-criticism, and a firm, systematic strengthening of contacts with the masses will create a firm base for the revolutionary activity of the Communist municipal workers.

9. No change can take place in the municipal activity of the Communist Parties unless a change is made in the composition of the fractions and in the methods of leadership of municipal activity by the Party.

In order to purge the Communist fractions from opportunist and petty-bourgeois elements, their mistakes must be openly pointed out, their opportunist conduct must be exposed to the workers. The backbone of the fractions must consist of factory workers, especially workers from large enterprises, and not of the so-called "municipal specialists" among whom there are to be found so many opportunist and directly hostile elements. When drawing up lists of candidates, only absolutely (politically) reliable and politically conscious men and women workers and young workers should be put up. Municipal election campaigns and the municipal activity as a whole must be utilized for the purpose of drawing broad masses of women into the revolutionary movement.

Courses of municipal politics should be held systematically for the education of municipal functionaries.

10. In most cases municipal fractions work without systematic control on the part of Party organs. Certain C. I. Sections have still failed to set up municipal departments at headquarters or district municipal departments to control the work of Party fractions on municipal councils. The fractions and municipal functionaries must be under the regular guidance of the Party organs. The establishment of authoritative municipal departments in central and district committees, the appointment of truly Bolshevik workers as functionaries of these departments and publicity in the Party press dealing with local affairs in order to support and control municipal activity are necessary prerequisites for a successful fight against opportunism in practice.

The attempts being made by the opportunists to unite Communist municipal functionaries separately (Leagues of Communist Municipal Representatives) for independent elaboration and carrying

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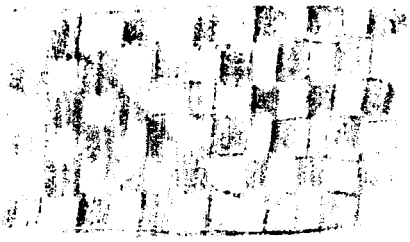
through of the municipal policy without the guiding control of the Party must be energetically opposed.

11. The turn in municipal policy will encounter strong opposition from all opportunist elements in the Party; but the Communist Party must not only concede no ground in carrying out the new municipal tactics, but, on the contrary, it must use every act of sabotage and opposition by the opportunist elements to mobilize the Party and working masses against them, so that the Party must be able in case of necessity to remove such elements from its ranks without damage. The struggle against municipal legalism which is one of the most dangerous forms of opportunism, must be carried on absolutely relentlessly.

12. The turn towards a revolutionary municipal policy implies also energetic struggle against *"left"* deviations (boycott of municipal elections, boycott of municipal work, *refusal* to occupy municipal posts, etc., underestimation of municipal work for the mobilization of the masses, the *substitution* of the mobilization of the masses on a concrete programme by a partial programme of "left" phrases about the revolution in municipal affairs after the proletariat has seized power, etc.). Communists in all countries, "democratic," and fascist alike, must participate in municipal elections wherever there is an opportunity, in order to mobilize the masses and to enable the revolutionary masses to express their will in some form or other against the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents in the working class —the social-democrats.

For a Bolshevik municipal policy. Under this slogan the Communist Parties must effect the turn towards and must mobilize the rank and file of the Party for the application of the new line. Municipal work must be the work of the whole Party. Like trade union work and work in the other mass organizations, municipal work is part of the general work of the Party to bring to the knowledge of the masses the principles and aims of the Communist Parties, and to mobilize them for the achievement of their principles and aims. A correctly applied revolutionary municipal policy will become a powerful lever for winning the masses for the proletarian revolution.



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